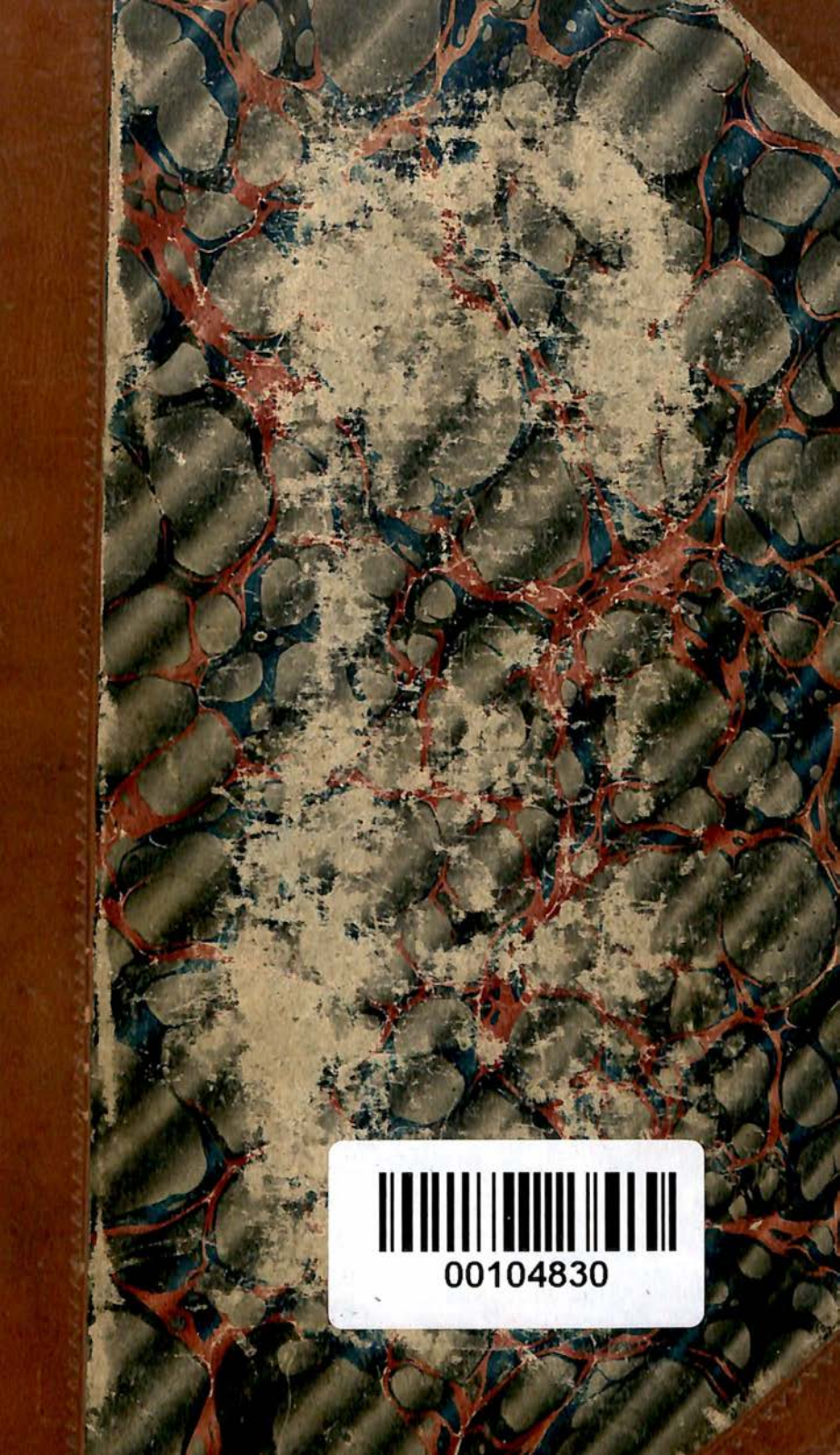
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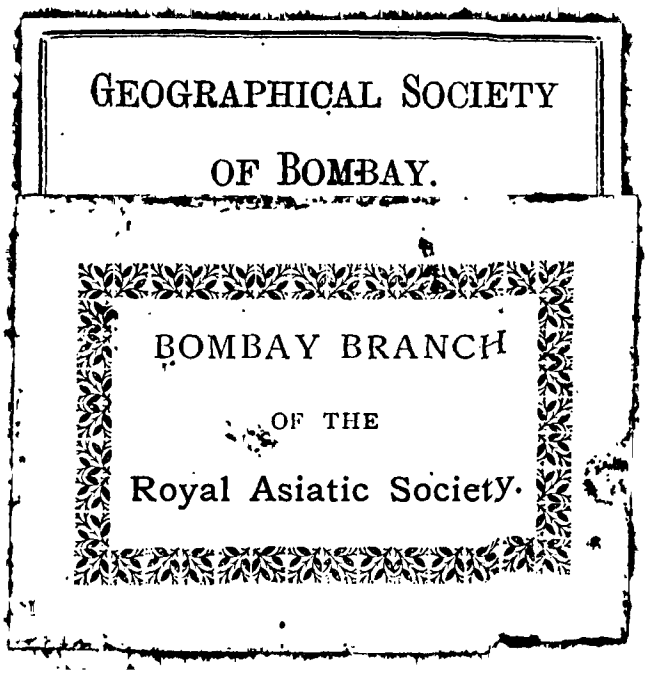

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HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM THE GREEK,

WITH NOTES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

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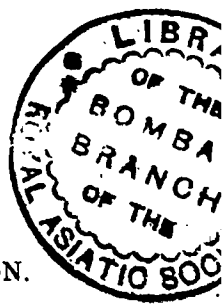
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



THE FOURTH EDITION.

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TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

BEILBY

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

&c. &c.

MY LORD,

WHEN I published the first Edition of this Work, I was an obscure individual, and did not presume to inscribe it to any one; but, when a very large impression had been sold, and generally received with kindness, I felt the less reluctance in soliciting permission to prefix your Lordship's name to its second appearance.

I am also proud and happy to have this opportunity of expressing my gratitude, for the friendship with which your Lordship has for many years honoured me, and for the warm and generous kindness I have often experienced from you, in circumstances of great perplexity and sorrow.

I shall ever remain, with the sincerest and most respectful attachment,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient,

And most devoted Servant,

WILLIAM BELOE.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE sensations with which an author writes the Preface to the first and to the second edition of a Work are very different. In the first instance he is alarmed by various apprehensions; he is conscious that many errors will have escaped his most anxious attention; he knows the vigilance of many to detect, and the disposition of some to expose, the defects which may have escaped his own penetration or diligence. But perhaps he is, above all other considerations, tormented with the fear, that his literary labours may not meet with the reward adequate to his pains; may not suit the curiosity of the Public, and may glide away unnoticed to oblivion.—The emotions which, without any undue portion of self-complacency, he feels when he is introducing a second edition, are of a far more gratifying kind. He has ascended the hill, the approach to which seemed so steep and difficult; he must have been a favourite with many readers, and endured by

more; his labour has not totally been lost, and more or less of reputation must be attached to his name.

I am not unwilling to acknowledge, that when the first Edition of this Book was published, I laboured under various difficulties, and I dismissed it to the world with the consciousness, that although I had bestowed much time and great labour upon the Work, it contained various inaccuracies and defects, beyond my ability to remove, or my opportunities to supply. During the progress of that time which has elapsed in the disposal of a very considerable impression, my powers of correcting various errors, and of making various important additions, have been extended and improved. The present Edition, therefore, appears certainly with fewer imperfections, and let me be permitted to hope, with many valuable accessions.

The recent discoveries made in Africa by Park, Browne, Hornemann, and others, and the familiar knowledge of Egypt, which has been obtained, since the invasion of that country by the French, have likewise contributed, in no small degree, to illustrate many obscurities, and to supply much important information. To these I have not been inattentive, but have every where inserted such new matter as I conceived would be most acceptable, and most useful to the English reader.

But I must not pass without notice, nor indeed without a proper tribute of acknowledgment, the new edition of the French translation of Herodotus, by the venerable Larcher. It appears that the first Edition of my translation had not come into his hands, until he was about to put a finishing hand to his last work. But it is no small source of gratification to me to be spoken of in terms of commendation by a man, whose version of Herodotus into French is perhaps the most perfect work of the kind that ever was produced. It is entitled to equal praise, whether we consider the elegance and felicity of the translation itself, or the profound and various learning, acute criticism, and comprehensive knowledge, displayed in the notes. I cannot dismiss the subject of Larcher, without expressing my delight and admiration at the candour and frankness with which he acknowledges and corrects certain errors and opinions, on the subject of religion and religious history, which alone deformed his first edition.

My thanks, at the same time, are due to various persons; and first of all, to Major Rennell, who has condescended to make my translation of Herodotus, the ground-work of a publication far beyond my praise. Whoever shall hereafter attempt to read Herodotus, without the aid of Major Rennell's most able and excellent production, will have but a very limited

knowledge of the author. It will be perceived that I have perpetually availed myself of this writer's remarks and elucidations. But it is not to Major Rennell's public labours alone that I am indebted. I have consulted him in various perplexities, and have solicited his opinions on numerous occasions, and his communications on all, have been prompt, kind, and satisfactory.

My next acknowledgments are due to Mr. Gifford, who had the patience and the kindness to read the proof-sheets of all the books of Herodotus, the last excepted, when he was prevented by a temporary absence. But it is not this friendly office alone for which I have to thank him; he from time to time communicated various hints and amendments, the value of which can only be duly estimated by those, who know Mr. Gifford's acuteness and sagacity of remark.

When I have thanked Mr. Combe for one or two ingenious suggestions on the subject of ancient coins, I believe I shall have fulfilled all my debts of this kind.

I have now, therefore, only to express my earnest hope, that my endeavours to render this Work (a less perfect impression of which has been favourably received) more worthy of the public attention, have not been altogether vain. That many errors may yet remain, I am not without apprehensions; and that it may be the employment of some to detect, and perhaps of a few to

aggravate them, I am not wholly unaware. But I have arrived at that period, and attained such experience of life, that the consciousness of having, from proper motives, produced a Work interesting and useful to many readers, will outweigh all other considerations, and amply console me for any deduction which may remain to be made from my hitherto successful account with the Public.

British Museum,
October 1805.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

WHOEVER has employed his time on a long and laborious work, is anxious to prove to others, as well as to himself, the utility of what he has performed; since the imputation and the consciousness of having misapplied such efforts, are almost equally unpleasing. If authority be allowed to be an adequate justification, the translator from classic writers has little occasion to argue in his own defence, the practice of the ablest men in the most enlightened countries being undeniably on his side. Of Italian and French literature, translations from the classics form no small or unimportant part; and if in our own language, accurate versions of many ancient authors be still wanting, the deficiency is owing, I conceive, to some other cause, rather than to any disapprobation of such works, in those by whom they might have been performed. Perhaps the literary rank assigned in this country to translators, is not elevated enough to gratify the ambition of the learned; perhaps the curiosity of the Public has not yet been turned suf-

ficiently that way, to make the reward in general proportionate to the labour. Whatever be the cause that more has not been done, translations of eminent merit have appeared among us in a sufficient number, to prove decisively the opinion held of them by some of our most accurate and judicious scholars. In translating the Ancient Poets, our countrymen have, indeed, very honourably exerted their talents, and their success has proved that our language is fully calculated for the transfusion of the highest classical beauties; while the French, among whom the demand for translations has urged them to be performed at any rate, have been obliged to content themselves with prosaic versions of the noblest poems of antiquity. The honour thus acquired, ought to have encouraged us to proceed in laying open the remaining stores of ancient literature. But it is a humbler task to follow the steps of a prose writer, than to emulate the flights and harmony of a poet.

There appears to be only one important objection, that can be made to works of this nature, which is founded on a fear that they may encourage indolence, and introduce the superficial ostentation of a knowledge neither sound nor accurate, to the injury of real learning. That vanity may be furnished, by translations, with the means of pretending to acquisitions which

she has not made, cannot perhaps be denied, and such effects may certainly be traced in many writings of our continental neighbours; but that literature will thereby be injured, is not equally capable of proof. The foundation of learning is usually laid, if laid at all, and the taste for it imbibed, if it can be communicated, before the student has the liberty of considering whether it is easier to read the ancients in their own languages or in modern versions; and till we hear of some persons who shall have studied Greek, because there were books in that language of which they could not find any translation, we may rest satisfied, that few, if any, will neglect such studies on the mere prospect of that assistance. But an abuse, if it did exist, ought not to preclude the use; and whoever recollects how much our favourite Shakspeare enlarged the treasures of his active mind, by information deduced from these secondary sources, will confess, at least, that an excellent, as well as an impertinent or idle use may be made of translated Classics.

In this country, where successful industry produces elevation of rank, and gives access to polished society, there will always be many persons, who with enlightened and discerning minds, and a considerable disposition to literature, are debarred from the perusal of ancient authors by the want of a suitable education. Many by

birth entitled to every advantage, are early called away from learning to scenes of active occupation. Some such I have seen, and highly value, who, not ashamed of a deficiency occasioned by unavoidable circumstances, or by honest, useful, and honourable occupations, are desirous to form, if possible, complete collections of approved and elegant translations. But whether the desire of such aid be thus general, or directed only to particular authors, whether it be entertained by men or women, it is liberal in its kind, and ought by all means to be gratified.

Nor is it only to unlearned persons that translations may be of service; to those also who are employed in the study of the ancient languages, they are often highly useful. In obscure and perplexed passages, they who publish notes, not unfrequently consult their ease, by passing over in silence what they are not able to explain; and even they by whom the Latin versions annexed to Greek authors were formed, will be found on many occasions, by rendering word for word, to have left the sense as dark as they found it in the original; but a translator into vernacular language, is a commentator, who is bound, if possible, to explain every thing: his version, in order to be approved, must have the air and manner of an original, and he has no more licence to be obscure than if it really were so.

Being confined to this attention throughout, he usually examines and compares with greater diligence than any other commentator: he is compelled at least to understand himself, which is one good step towards being intelligible to others, and, where he finds this wholly impracticable, is driven ingenuously to confess it. If this reasoning be not fallacious, it must happen, that, in good versions, illustrations will often be found, which could not be obtained from any editions of the original: this at least I have found by experience in rendering Herodotus, that, after consulting all the commentators, I have frequently been obliged to have recourse to new considerations, before I could make my translation entirely clear and satisfactory to myself.

If the practice of translating be fully approved, there can be no doubt concerning the claim of Herodotus to an early distinction of this kind. His matter is no less curious than diversified, and his history, as far as his own knowledge and diligent researches could make it so, entitled to attention and belief. When he approaches to his own times, there is little reason to suspect him of error or inaccuracy; and, whatever we may think of some particulars respecting the Persian invasion, he is in that matter as moderate as any of his countrymen; and, in a case so very extraordinary, the deposition of such a witness must deserve particular consideration.

Yet Herodotus, though mentioned always with respect, and dignified by courtesy with the title of the Father of History, has been treated with some neglect by the English literati. While Thucydides and Xenophon have been naturalized among us, in correct and elegant translations, this Historian, the first remaining link of that important chain, has hitherto been represented only by Littlebury. The scarceness of that translation, notwithstanding the inconvenience of its form, from wanting the usual subdivisions; the entire absence of notes, so particularly necessary to this author; and other defects, which it might seem invidious here to mention, first pointed out the necessity of supplying the Public with another. From the nature of the notes subjoined to the present translation, it will easily be perceived, that I have been more desirous to assist and to amuse the English reader, than to claim the credit of abstruse or uncommon learning. It may, indeed, be said, by such as are more ready to throw out an acute than a candid observation, that, in so doing, I have probably consulted my own strength, as much as the reader's convenience. This I shall neither acknowledge nor deny: but when it shall be seen how various the matter is, which, even for the above-mentioned purposes, I have been obliged to collect, the imputation perhaps will not be thought extremely formidable. For my own part, I shall be fully

satisfied with what I have done, if it shall be pronounced, by those who are capable of deciding, that, in so many topics of enquiry, I have in general been happy enough to avoid misleading my readers.

From the notes to M. Larcher's celebrated French translation, which are very numerous, and intended evidently for the critical and the learned, rather than the common reader, I have extracted such as seemed most suited to my own design: to these I have subjoined his name. For the rest, which have the signature of *T.* annexed, I confess myself responsible: except in the case of a very few, the contribution of one or two friends, which, for many reasons, I should have been glad to have had so numerous, as to have demanded separate signatures. The assistance, however, that I have received, I shall always thankfully acknowledge, and be rather proud to declare, than studious to conceal.

I SHALL now conclude this Address, by which, I hope, the reader will be convinced, that I offer him an useful Work, and one executed with the spirit of a man who wishes to serve the Public, and to promote the cause of Literature. The labour of almost three years is now submitted to his judgment; for which, though I have not conscious dignity enough to dismiss it

without any apprehension, I request no further indulgence than candour will readily bestow, on a work of difficult execution; I have done my best, and must abide the consequences. Avocations, cares, and ill-health, I have had in common with others; but these are so inseparable from human life, that they ought perhaps to be supposed in every estimate of labour. It has been remarked, by critics of deserved eminence and popularity, that the perfections and beauties of a translation are usually, without reserve, referred to the merit of the original work; while all defects and imperfections are heaped upon the shoulders of the poor translator. To this common lot of my brethren, I also very willingly submit; nor can there, perhaps, be two authors more likely to justify such decisions than Herodotus and his Translator. Had I been aware how much of my time would be occupied by this undertaking, I should probably have shrunk from it: now it is completed, whether I shall again venture upon that perilous ocean, where many a braver heart than mine has trembled, will depend perhaps upon the degree of approbation which the present adventure shall obtain from my impartial and judicious countrymen.

A SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE

OF

HERODOTUS.

It may be observed of biography, that few things confessedly so useful have been so much perverted or so frequently abused. Perhaps it is neither unjust nor uncandid to add, that this has been in a peculiar manner the error of modern times. We have seen the lives of men, remarkable neither for the splendour nor the extent of their accomplishments, displayed in formidable volumes, and obtruded on the world with a confidence which private partiality could not justify, and which a reverence for the public might well have moderated: we have seen the minute occurrences of domestic life, I had almost said, betrayed, and the little weaknesses of exalted and amiable minds

ostentatiously enumerated, from the mistaken idea of satisfying a curiosity beneficial neither to Science nor to Virtue. In writing ancient lives, this fault, indeed, cannot be committed; but even that species of biography has been much disfigured by the ambition of collecting every trifling hint that antiquity has left, and swelling out the rest by vague and often very arbitrary conjectures. For my own part, I should little suppose that I treated the English reader with becoming respect, if, in professing to give a Life of Herodotus, I did not immediately inform him that my materials were not only very dubious, but very scanty: such however as they are, it would be no difficult task to imitate the example of many who have preceded me, and expand my observations into a serious volume. Were I to glean all that has been said of my Historian, from the different books which I have necessarily read; were I to obey the suggestions of fondness and the impulse of fancy, rather than those of my cooler judgment, and my regard for the dignity of historic truth, I have a subject before me which might be protracted at pleasure. To me it seems acting a more consistent part, once for all, to declare that there is no regular account of Herodotus, either more ancient or more authentic than that of Suidas: and this is comprised in a very narrow compass. What all

modern[a] editors of his works have said of him rests chiefly on the relation of Suidas as a basis, and I might labour in vain to find a better guide. I wish therefore my readers to understand, that what I shall produce will be derived from the same authority, with a few additional remarks suggested by passages produced in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, or the Prolegomena of Wesseling.

It appears that the Father of History was born at Halicarnassus, the metropolis of Caria. At what particular period may be collected from Aulus Gellius, book xv. chapter 23, who informs us that the three celebrated historians, Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, flourished nearly at the same time. "At the commencement of the Peloponnesian war," says he, "Hellanicus was sixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty." The Peloponnesian war began in the second year of the eighty-sixth Olympiad: Herodotus must consequently have been born in the first year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad. This was four years before Xerxes invaded Greece, and four hundred and forty-four years before the Christian æra.

[a] A few scattered hints may be collected from Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Aulus Gellius, and a few other ancient writers.

According to Strabo, it was commonly believed that the name of his father was Lyxes, of his mother Dryo: and we are told also, that his family was illustrious; and that he had a brother whose name was Theodorus. At this time Lygdamis was prince of Halicarnassus, and, as it should seem, universally detested for his insolence and tyranny. It is certain that when Herodotus grew up, he left his native place and removed to Samos: Suidas says, on account of Lygdamis; but it does not appear whether he was violently expelled by his arbitrary sovereign, or whether, in abhorrence of the tyrant, he voluntarily withdrew himself. At Samos he studied the Ionic dialect; but as this subject may be less intelligible to the English reader, I shall digress a little upon it. By birth Herodotus was a Dorian, and the dialect of his country was, comparatively speaking, so rude and dissonant, that, even in later times, we hear the other Greeks reflecting on those who used it, for their broad and inharmonious pronunciation.

See Theocritus, Id. xv. ver. 88.

Τρυγονες εκναισενῆται πλατυασδοισαι απαντα.

Which means, They make a noise like pigeons, pronouncing every thing with a broad dialect.

To which remark, as a kind of vindication, it is replied, in the verse which follows:

Δωρισδεν δ'εξεστι δοκω τοις Δωριεεσσι.

Which is, Surely Dorians may speak Doric.

Hesychius also, at the word βαρβαροφωνοι, tells us that the inhabitants of Elis, as well as the Carians, were so named on account of their harsh and indistinct pronunciation.

Herodotus himself, book i. chapter 56, informs us, that the Greek language, properly so called, is divided into two dialects, the Doric and the Ionic; the first, the language of the Pelasgi, the last, that of the Hellenes. Strabo also, in his eighth book, observes, that the Ionic was the language of Attica, and the Doric of Æolia. The Æolic and the Doric did not materially vary from each other, and the Attic was the Ionic more refined. Herodotus therefore having learned the Ionic dialect, as more pleasing than his native Doric, composed his history in it. To collect materials, he travelled through Greece, Egypt, Asia, Colchis, Scythia, Thrace, and Macedonia, &c.; and it is sufficiently evident that he personally visited most of the places which he describes.

Of the ardour with which he was inspired in the cause of liberty, we have strong and unequivocal testimony. First, in his exile from his country, whether voluntary or not; in various animated expressions to this effect, scattered through his books; but best of all in his subsequent conduct. Understanding that a party was formed against Lygdamis, he left Samos, and joined the friends of freedom. By their common exertions, the tyrant was expelled, and the public liberty restored. But, as not unfrequently happens on similar occasions, contentions arose, factions were formed, and Herodotus was a second time compelled to leave his country. He now visited Greece again, which became the noble theatre of his glory. It was the time of celebrating the Olympic games, and he did not omit so favourable an opportunity of reciting his history to the illustrious audience. It is probable that he only read the introductory parts, or certain particular and selected portions; but there must have been something very captivating in his style, some regular and connected series of interesting history, some superior and striking character of genius: for we are informed that he was listened to with universal delight and applause; and we are farther gratified with the curious anecdote of Thucydides, which has so often been re-

lated.[b] This celebrated personage was present at the great solemnity, with his father Olorus, and on hearing the composition of Herodotus, discovered the seeds of those exalted talents which afterwards made his name immortal. After listening to the father of history with the most composed and serious attention, he burst into tears. He was then no more than fifteen years old; and Herodotus, observing his emotion, exclaimed to Olorus, οργᾳ ἡ φυσις του υἱου σου προς τα μαθηματα— Your son burns with an ardour for science. This is said to have happened in the eighty-first Olympiad. Twelve years afterwards, the Historian read a continuation, or second portion of his work, to the Athenians, at the feast of the Panathenæa. The citizens of Athens, not satisfied with heaping praises upon him, presented him with ten talents, which gift was solemnly ratified by a decree of the people. The following account of this memorable incident is taken from Lucian, who has a long and curious dissertation on the subject of Herodotus.—" Herodotus, having left Caria to go into

[b] There are some writers who assert that Herodotus did not recite his history at Athens at all, but at Olympus. He might recite it at both places. Having been present for the purpose at Olympus first, he might afterwards proceed to Athens to appear at the Panathenæa. This last place was peculiarly proper, for crowns and other rewards were there conferred upon the conquerors.

Greece, employed his thoughts in contriving methods, by which in a small time, without much trouble, he might acquire a large stock of glory and reputation for his person and works. He foresaw that it would be a tedious and fatiguing task to go to the respective places, and recite them to the Athenians, Corinthians, Argives, and Lacedæmonians. He imagined that it would be more expedient to find them all assembled together. It happened very luckily that they were then all going to celebrate the Olympian games: he concluded this time very proper for the execution of his design, and that he had met with the opportunity which he was in quest of, for he should now find a vast concourse of the principal and most select people of all Greece. He appeared then on the theatre, not as a bare spectator, but in order to commence an actor in the Olympic games. None were ignorant of the name of Herodotus, nor was there a single person in Greece who had not either seen him at the Olympics, or heard those speak of him that came from thence: so that in what place soever he came, the inhabitants pointed with their finger, saying, this is that Herodotus who has written the Persian wars in the Ionic dialect, this is he who has celebrated our victories. Thus the harvest which he reaped from his histories was, the receiving in one assembly the general applause of

all Greece, and the sounding his fame, not only in one place, and by a single trumpet, but in all the cities of Greece, by as many mouths as there had been spectators in that assembly."

The next incident of this author's life of which we have to speak, may at first sight appear inconsistent and extraordinary. Honoured as all illustrious strangers were at Athens, and favourable as the opportunity must there have been, to have prosecuted his studies, and to have indulged his ardour for science, he might reasonably have been expected to fix his residence at Athens; but this we find was not the case. In the beginning of the following Olympiad, during the magistracy of Callimachus, he joined himself to a colony sent by the Athenians to form a settlement in Magna Græcia: whether he was prompted on this occasion by that fondness for travelling, which always distinguished him, or whether he was induced to take this step from motives of private connection and attachment, is totally unknown. It is certain that Lysis, who afterwards became so famous as an orator, was one of those who accompanied him. At Thurium[c], which was

[c] Written also Thurii and Thuriæ; it is situated in the Tarentine Gulf, in Italy, and almost upon the spot where formerly stood Sybaris, so infamous for effeminate manners.

the place then colonized, it is more than probable that he spent the remainder of his days, though there are some who assert that he died at Pella in Macedonia. Pella, however, gave no name to Herodotus, but became afterwards famous for being long the residence of Euripides, who from this circumstance has frequently been called the Bard of Pella: an appellation which our poet Collins happily introduces in his beautiful Ode to Pity:

> By Pella's Bard, a magic name,
> By all the griefs his thought could frame,
> Receive my humble rite;
> Long, Pity, let the nations view
> Thy sky-worn robes of tenderest hue,
> And eyes of dewy light.

Herodotus, in like manner, from his long continuance at Thurium, obtained the epithet of the Thurian. This appellation is no where to be found more early than in the works of Aristotle. Avienus, Julian, Pliny, and others, call him the Thurian; while Strabo, of greater antiquity than any of these, Aristotle excepted, in his fourteenth book, expressly calls him the Halicarnassian, adding however, that he was afterwards named the Thurian, because he removed with a colony to that place. The passage in Strabo is this: "Herodotus, the

Historian, was of Halicarnassus, but afterwards he was called the Thurian, because he accompanied the colony which went to establish themselves at Thurium." Strabo, book 14.

Pliny has an expression relating to Herodotus, which many have misinterpreted. "Auctor," says he, "ille Herodotus historiam *condidit*, Thuriis in Italiâ;" which has been understood as asserting that he *wrote* his history at Thurium. But this is impossible in fact, because I have shewn, that many years before he went to Thurium at all, he had publicly recited his work, or certain portions of it, on two very memorable occasions; at the Olympic games, and at Athens. It is therefore more reasonable and consistent to understand by this expression of Pliny, that he revised, corrected, and perhaps enlarged his history at Thurium. Suidas positively declares, that Herodotus died at Thurium; and though he mentions, as I have before intimated, that some affirmed him to have died at Pella, he produces no authority, which he would probably have done, if there had been any that deserved much notice. This assertion therefore appears not to claim any great degree of confidence. But an argument against his having died at Thurium rests on a passage which occurs in the Life of Thucydides, by Marcellinus,

who affirms, that the tomb of Herodotus was to be seen at Athens, amongst the monuments of Cimon. The president Bouhier has from this concluded and asserted that he died at Athens. Of this the question of M. Larcher, as he has applied it from Dodwell, seems a sufficient and satisfactory refutation. How can it be proved, says the learned Frenchman, that this was not a cenotaph, one of those marks of honour frequently paid to illustrious characters, without regarding the place where they might happen to die? Stephen of Byzantium gives an inscription, said to have been found at Thurium, which asserts unequivocally, "This earth contains in its bosom, Herodotus son "of Lyxes, a Dorian by birth, but the most illus- "trious of the Ionian historians."

Of the works of Herodotus we have remaining those nine books, to which the names of The Nine Muses have been respectively annexed; upon which subject I have spoken in a note at the beginning of the third book[d]. Whether he ever

[d] Whether Herodotus conferred this name on his works himself, or whether it was given by any other, succeeding writers have followed the example. Æschines composed nine epistles and three orations, which were distinguished by the appellation of the Nine Muses, and the Three Graces. Photius also observes, that Cephaleon gave the name of the

wrote any thing else, has been a matter of much controversy among scholars. Certain allusions and expressions, to be found in the Nine Muses, seem at first sight to justify the opinion, that we do not possess all his works. But this must ever remain a matter of extreme uncertainty; yet it becomes me to add, that there are no references pointed out by the learned, to any other of his works, in any ancient author. Aristotle, in his History of Animals, book viii. chap. 18, censures Herodotus for saying, that at the siege of Ninos an eagle was seen to drink, when it is notorious that all birds γαμψωνυχες, having crooked claws, never do drink. Now it is certain, that no such expression occurs in what we have remaining of Herodotus. "Probably," says Fabricius, in reply to this, "Aristotle might have a more perfect

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Nine Muses to his nine books of Abridgment of General History. Diogenes Laertius informs us, that Bion called his performance of nine books by the same title. But the reader must not confound this Bion with him whose life is given by Laertius. At the conclusion of that life the biographer tells us there were ten eminent men of the name of Bion. The sixth was a rhetorician, of whose writings there are nine books, each book under the appellation of a particular Muse. Aulus Gellius also, book i. chap. 25, informs us, that among the Latin writers, Publius Aurelius Opilius called his works by the name of the Nine Muses.

"copy of the Nine Muses, than has come down "to us[e]."

The style of Herodotus might well demand a separate dissertation: this, perhaps, is not the properest place to speak at any length upon the subject[f]. It has been universally admired for being, beyond that of all other Greek writers of Prose, pure and perspicuous. Cicero calls it *fusum atque tractum*, at the same time copious and polished. Aristotle gives it as an example of the λεξις ειρομενη, which is literally, the *connected style;* but, as he explains himself, it means rather what we should call *the flowing* style; wherein the sentences are not involved or complicated by art, but are connected by simple conjunctions, as they follow in natural order, and have no full ter-

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[e] Or why, it may be asked, should it be thought improbable to suppose that Aristotle might be mistaken, and quote Herodotus instead of some other author?

[f] The following are among the passages in Cicero's works, in which he makes honourable mention of Herodotus.

Atqui tanta est eloquentia, ut me quantum ego Græce scripta intelligere possum, magnopere delectet.—De Oratore, l. 11.

In his Brutus he says,

Sine salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit.

In his Hortensius,

Quid aut Herodoto dulcius aut Thucydide gravius?

mination but in the close of the sense. This he opposes to that style which is formed into regular periods, and rather censures it as keeping the reader in uneasy suspense, and depriving him of the pleasure which arises from foreseeing the conclusion. The former, he says, was the method of the ancients; the latter of his contemporaries. (Rhet. iii. 9.) His own writings afford an example of the latter style, cut into short and frequent periods, but certainly much less pleasing than the flowing and natural smoothness of Herodotus. Plutarch, who wrote a treatise expressly to derogate from the fame and authority of Herodotus, in more places than one, speaks of his diction with the highest commendation. Longinus also, as may be seen in various passages which I have introduced, and commented upon in the progress of my work, added his tribute to the universal praise[g].

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g Quintilian, in his ninth book, observes,

In Herodoto vero cum omnia ut ego quidem sentio leniter fluant, tum ipse dialectus habet eam jucunditatem ut latentes etiam numeros complexa videatur.

And again in the following book, where he draws a comparison between Herodotus and Thucydides, he says, dulcis, et candidus et fusus Herodotus.

The following passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus is too remarkable to be omitted.—Herodotus very much surpassed all others in the choice of his words, the justice of his composition, and the variety of his figures. His discourse is com-

Every one knows who has made the experiment, how difficult and almost impossible it is to assimilate to the English idiom, the simple and beautiful terseness of Greek composition. If any scholar therefore, who may choose to compare my version with the original Greek, shall be inclined to censure me for being occasionally diffuse, I would wish him to remember this.—I would desire him also to consider, that it was my duty to make that perspicuous to the less learned reader, which might have been conveyed in fewer terms to the apprehensions of the more learned or the more intelligent.

On the subject of translations in general, I entirely approve of the opinion of Boileau. In a preceding publication, I have before referred to this, but I see no impropriety in its having a place here, in the words of lord Bolingbroke.

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posed in such a manner, that it resembles an excellent poem, in its persuasive art, and that charming grace, which pleases to the highest degree. He has not omitted any of the beautiful and great qualities, unless it be in that manner of writing adapted to contests and disputes, either because he was naturally not made for it, or that he despised it, as not agreeable to history: for he doth not make use of a great number of orations, nor speeches to promote contention, nor has he the necessary force requisite to excite the passions, and amplify and augment things.

"To translate servilely into modern language an ancient author, phrase by phrase, and word by word, is preposterous: nothing can be more unlike the original than such a copy; it is not to shew, it is to disguise the author. A good writer will rather imitate than translate, and rather emulate than imitate: he will endeavour to write as the ancient author would have written, had he wrote in the same language."—

Letters on History.

Perhaps I ought not to omit, that many eminent writers, both of ancient and modern times, accuse Herodotus of not having had a sufficient regard to the austere and sacred dignity of historic truth. Ctesias, in Photius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Aulus Gellius, and, above all, Plutarch, have made strong and violent objections to many of his assertions. Ctesias pretends to question his accuracy in what he relates of the Medes and Persians, but what he says hardly merits refutation. Manetho finds very much to blame in what he writes concerning the Egyptians. Thucydides also, in one or two passages, seems obliquely to glance at Herodotus. Strabo is more definitive, and remarks that the historian writes pleasantly enough, and introduces in his narratives many wonderful tales to supply the want of songs,

verses, &c. The following passage in Juvenal has also been applied to him:

Creditur olim
Velificatus Athos & quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia.

To many general censures which on this account have been aimed against the fame of our historian, I have made reply in various parts of my notes; and the plausible but unjust tract of Plutarch, on the Malignity of Herodotus, has been carefully examined, and satisfactorily refuted, by the Abbé Geinoz, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. Thus much must be allowed on all hands, that throughout his works there is the greatest appearance of candour and simplicity. Seldom or ever does he relate extraordinary and marvellous things, without qualifying his narrative with such expressions as these, I have heard, it is said, this does not appear credible, &c. In what he says of Egypt in particular, which has drawn upon him the unjust censure of Manetho, he invariably observes, that he learned what he communicates, from the Egyptian priests. But what, perhaps, is of more consequence to his character for veracity than any thing that can be adduced is, that it is determined by the most

learned men, that the writings of Herodotus are more conformable to the sacred Scriptures than those of Xenophon, Ctesias, and other ancient historians.

I have little to say concerning the Life of Homer, imputed by some to Herodotus, and in more modern editions published with his works. It seems generally determined among scholars, that though undoubtedly of great antiquity, it must have been written by some other hand. Vossius, Faber, Rykius, Spanhemius, Berglerus, Wesseling, and others, are decidedly against its authenticity; which has nevertheless been vindicated by Fabricius, by our countryman Joshua Barnes, and lastly by the President Bouhier. It must strike the most careless and indifferent observer, that the style of the life of Homer, whoever was the author, does not bear the smallest resemblance to that of the Nine Muses. "In the Life of Homer," says Wesseling, "that unvaried suavity of the "Ionic dialect, so remarkable in the Muses, "never occurs at all." The great and the most satisfactory argument against its being genuine seems to be this:—Of all the ancient writers, who have taken upon them to discuss the birth, the fortunes, or the poems of Homer, not one has ever, by the remotest allusion, referred to this

work, which bears the name of Herodotus. There exists also a chronological argument against its authenticity. The author of this Life, whoever he may be, observes, that Homer lived 168 years after the Trojan war, and 622 years before the expedition of Xerxes against Greece. But if we have recourse to the Euterpe, we find Herodotus himself observe, that Homer and Hesiod lived 400 years before him. It must consequently have been many more years after the siege of Troy that these writers flourished.

There have appeared at different periods abridgments of the works of Herodotus. One is mentioned in Suidas; the performance of Theopompus, of Chios, who also wrote what is called Philippiac. There were several of this name, who are mentioned in the works of the ancients, by Strabo, Julius Pollux, Athenæus, Harpocration, and others; but no one is any where specified as of Chios, except in Suidas. There is also an abridgment of Herodotus by David Chytræus, with various learned notes; which work I possess.

There have been, as might reasonably be expected, multiplied editions of the works of this historian. The first that appeared was in Latin, by Laurentius Valla, printed at Venice in 1474.

Of this Latin translation many editions were afterwards published. The text was revised by Conrad Heresbachius, and printed at Colen in 1526, 1537, &c. &c. The first edition of Herodotus, in Greek, was by Aldus Manutius, and printed at Venice in 1502. The next edition was printed at Basil in 1541, with notes, by Camerarius. Other editions succeeded, by Henry Stephens, who printed the Greek text only, in 1570, at Paris; by Jungermann, with notes; by Sylburgius; by Gale; by Wesseling, which is of the highest reputation, and which I have principally used; and finally by Borheck, at Lemgow, in seven volumes octavo, in 1795. This last is a very learned performance, but is chiefly confined to criticisms on the text.

Almost every European language has to boast of a translation of Herodotus. There is one in Dutch, German, Italian, and more than one in French.

A curious old translation of the two first books, seemingly rendered from the French into English, was published in London by Marsh in 1584. From this time none appeared in our language till Littlebury published his two volumes in 1737;

these are without notes or comments of any kind.

My work appeared in 1791, not long after which a single volume was published by Mr. Lempriere, the learned compiler of the Classical Dictionary, who has not been pleased to favour the public with his continuation.

And here my account of the historian must conclude; but when I consider the great admiration which for successive ages he has deservedly obtained, when I reflect on the instruction which he communicates in the most pure and delightful style, I cannot but regret, that the sources of information concerning him are not more clear as well as more copious. I would not trifle with my reader, by leading him through the mazes of a labyrinth, where a few intervals of light and beauty would but ill compensate for the tediousness and uncertainty of his way; I have rather chosen to place before him a plain uninterrupted path, from which he may discern at one view the clearest prospect I could present to him, as well as the materials of which it is composed.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK I.

HERODOTUS.

CLIO.

[1] CHAP. I.

O preserve from oblivion the memory of former incidents, and to render a just tribute of renown to the many great and wonderful actions, both of Greeks and Barbarians[2], HERODOTUS[3] of

[1] The simplicity with which Herodotus commences his History, and enters immediately on his subject, has been much and deservedly admired, and exhibits a striking contrast to the elaborate introductions of modern writers. It is not, however, peculiar to Herodotus; it was the beautiful distinction of almost all the more ancient authors.—*T.*

[2] *Barbarians.*]—As this word so frequently occurs in the progress of our work, it may be necessary, once for all, to advertise the English reader, that the ancients used it in a much milder sense than we do. Much as has been said of the pride of the old Romans, the word in question may tend to prove, that they were in some instances less tenacious of their national dignity than the Greeks. The appellation of Barbarians was given by the Greeks to all the world but

Halicarnassus produces these* historical researches.

Among other things, it will be necessary to investigate the sources of the hostilities which subsisted between these people. The more learned

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themselves; the Romans gave it to all the world but the Greeks.—*T.*

[3] *Herodotus.*]—It has been suggested as a doubt, by many of the learned, whether it ought not to be written Erodotus. I do not remember many proper names terminating in dorus and dotus, as Diodorus, Diodotus, Heliodorus, &c. which are not derived from the name of a divinity; I have therefore not much scruple in asserting my belief, that it must be Herodotus, compounded of dotus and the Greek name of Juno. There are, however, some exceptions; as for example, Metrodorus, Polydorus, &c. &c.—*T.*

There is hardly any author, ancient or modern, who has been more warmly commended or more vehemently censured than this eminent historian; but even the severe Dionysius declares, he is one of those enchanting writers, whom you peruse to the last syllable with pleasure, and still wish for more. Plutarch himself, who has made the most violent attack on his veracity, allows him all the merit of beautiful composition.—*Hayley.*

* History, in the Greek, is derived from a verb, signifying to enquire minutely; and it is the opinion of Kuster, as well as of other eminent critics, that the word History itself, in its original sense, implies accurate enquiry, and stands properly for what the author's own researches demonstrated to him, and what he learned by the information of others. According to this interpretation, the first words of Herodotus might be rendered thus:

"Herodotus of Halicarnassus produces this work, the result

of the Persians assert that the Phœnicians were the original exciters of contention. This nation migrated from the borders of the Red Sea[4] to the place of their present settlement, and soon distinguished themselves by their long and enterprizing voyages[5]. They exported to Argos, among other

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both of his own researches, and of the enquiries made by him of others."

This is certainly paraphrastical, but the criticism is ingenious, and appears to be well founded. The material point to be established from it is, that in the time of Herodotus, Ἱστορίη did not signify History, the word then used in that sense was συγγραφή.

[4] *From the borders of the Red Sea.*]—When Herodotus speaks, for the first time, of any people, he always goes to their original source. Some authors make the Phœnicians to have originated from the Persian Gulf; which opinion, though reported, is not believed by Strabo. Voltaire, taking it for granted that they migrated by sea, ridicules the idea of their coming from the Red Sea to Phœnicia; as well he might. Larcher proves, in the most satisfactory manner, that his misconception arose from his ignorance of Greek. It is evident from another passage in Herodotus (Book vii. chap. 89.) that the Phœnicians, when they changed their place of residence, passed over by land.—*Larcher* (principally).

[5] *Long and enterprizing voyages.*]—The first among the Greeks who undertook long voyages were the Ionians. Upon this people, Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, has the following remark: "From the general character by which Homer constantly distinguishes the Phœnicians, as a commercial and seafaring people, it has been naturally supposed, that he was indebted to that nation for much of his information with regard to distant voyages. I think we cannot be at a

places, the produce of Egypt and Assyria. Argos, at that period, was the most famous of all those states which are now comprehended under the general appellation of Greece[6]. On their arrival here, the Phœnicians exposed their merchandize to sale; after remaining about six days, and when they had almost disposed of their different articles of commerce, the king's daughter, whom both nations agree in calling Io, came among a great number of other women, to visit them at their station. Whilst these females, standing near the stern of the vessel, amused themselves with bargaining for such things as attracted their curiosity, the Phœnicians, in conjunction, made an attempt to seize their persons. The greater part of them escaped, but Io, with many others, remained a captive. They carried them on board, and directed their course for Egypt.

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loss to account for the poet's acquiring, *at home*, all the knowledge of this kind which we meet with in his works. We know the Ionians were amongst the earliest navigators, particularly the Phocæans and Milesians. The former are expressly called the discoverers of Adria, Iberia, Tuscany, and Tartessus."—*Wood on Homer.*

6 *Greece.*]—The region known by the name of Hellas or Greece, in the time of Herodotus, was, previous to the Trojan war, and indeed long afterwards, only discriminated by the names of its different inhabitants. Homer speaks of the Danaans, Argives, Achaians, &c. but never gives these people the general name of Greeks.—*Larcher.*

II. The relation of the Greeks differs essentially; but this, according to the Persians, was the cause of Io's arrival in Egypt, and the first act of violence which was committed. In process of time, certain Grecians, concerning whose country writers disagree, but who were really of Crete, are reported to have touched at Tyre, and to have carried away Europa, the daughter of the prince. Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated[7]; but they were certainly guilty of the second provocation. They made a voyage in a vessel of war[8] to Æa, a city of Colchos, near the river Phasis; and after having accomplished the more immediate object of their expedition, they forcibly carried off the king's daughter Medea. The king of Colchos dispatched a herald, to demand satisfaction for the affront, and the restitution of the princess; but

7 *Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated.*]—The Editor is in possession of a translation of the two first books of Herodotus, published in London so early as the year 1584. It is in black letter, and may be considered as a great curiosity. The above passage is thus rendered: "It chaunced afterward, that certaine Greekes, whose names they knew not, taking shore and landing at Tyrus, in like manner made a rape of the kinges daughter, named Europa. These were the people of Crete, otherwise called the Cretenses. By which meanes yt was cardes and cardes betweene them, the one beyng full meete and quit with the other."—*The first Booke of Clio, London,* 1584.

8 *In a vessel of war.*]—Literally in a long vessel.—The long vessels were vessels of war, the round vessels, merchantmen and transports.—*T.*

the Greeks replied, that they should make no reparation in the present instance, as the violence formerly offered to Io[9] still remained unexpiated.

III. In the age which followed, Alexander, the son of Priam, encouraged by the memory of these events, determined on obtaining a wife from Greece, by means of similar violence; fully persuaded that this, like former wrongs, would never be avenged.

Upon the loss of Helen, the Greeks at first employed messengers to demand her person, as well as a compensation for the affront. All the satisfaction they received was reproach for the injury which had been offered to Medea; and they were farther asked, how, under circumstances entirely alike, they could reasonably require, what they themselves had denied.

IV. Hitherto the animosity betwixt the two nations extended no farther than to acts of private violence. But at this period, the Greeks certainly

9 *Violence formerly offered to Io.*]—It may be urged that the king of Colchos had nothing to do with the violence offered to Io; she was carried off by the Phœnicians. But, according to the Persians, all the nations of Asia composed but one body, of which they were the head. Any injury, therefore, offered to one of the members, was considered as an hostility against the whole. Thus, as we see in a succeeding paragraph, the Persians considered the Greeks as their enemies, from the time of the destruction of Troy.—*Larcher.*

laid the foundation of subsequent contention; who, before the Persians invaded Europe, doubtless made military incursions into Asia. The Persians appear to be of opinion, that they who offer violence to women must be insensible to the impressions of justice, but that such provocations are as much beneath revenge, as the women themselves are undeserving of regard: it being obvious, that all the females thus circumstanced must have been more or less accessary[10] to the fact. They asserted also, that although women had been forcibly carried away from Asia, they had never resented the

10 *More or less accessary, &c.*]—Plutarch, who has written an essay expressly to convict Herodotus of malignity, introduces this as the first argument of the truth of his accusation. The Greeks, says he, unanimously affirm, that Io had divine honours paid her by the Barbarians; that many seas and capacious harbours were called after her name; that to her many illustrious families owe their original: yet this celebrated writer does not hesitate to say of her, that she suffered herself to be enjoyed by a Phœnician mariner, with whom she fled, from the fear of being disgraced by the publication of her crime. He afterwards endeavours to throw an odium on the most illustrious actions of his countrymen, by intimating that the Trojan war was undertaken on account of a profligate woman. "For it is evident," says he, "that these women would have been never carried away except with their own consent."—*Plutarch on the Malignity of Herodotus.*

The motives of the malignity of Plutarch against Herodotus may be explained without difficulty. The Beotians and Corinthians seem to have been the frequent objects of the historian's animadversions. Plutarch was a Beotian, and thought it indispensably incumbent upon him to vindicate the cause of his countrymen.

affront. The Greeks, on the contrary, to avenge the rape of a Lacedæmonian woman, had assembled a mighty fleet, entered Asia in a hostile manner, and had totally overthrown the empire of Priam. Since which event they had always considered the Greeks as the public enemies of their nation. It is to be observed, that the Persians esteem Asia, with all its various and barbarous inhabitants, as their own peculiar possession, considering Europe and Greece as totally distinct and unconnected.

V. The above is the Persian tradition; who date the cause and origin of their enmity to Greece from the destruction of Troy. What relates to Io is denied by the Phœnicians; who affirm, that she was never forcibly carried into Egypt. They assert, that during their continuance at Argos she had an illicit connection with the pilot of their vessel[11], and, proving pregnant, she voluntarily ac-

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11 *Connection with the pilot of their vessel.*]—I make no apology for inserting the following singular translation of the above passage:—"With whose assertions the Phœnices agree not aboute the lady Io; whom they flatly denye to have beene caryed by them into Ægipt in manner of a rape: shewinge howe that in their abode at Argos, shee fortuned to close with the mayster of a shippe, and feelynge herselfe to bee spedde, fearynge and doubtinge greatlye the severitye and cruell tyrannie of her parentes, and the detection of her owne follye, shee willinglye toke shippe and fledde strayght awaye."—*Firste Booke of Clio.*

companied them to Egypt, to avoid the detection of her crime and the indignation of her parents. Having now stated the different representations of the Persians and Phœnicians, I shall not detain the reader by an investigation of the truth of either narrative. I shall commence with an account of that personage, of whose first attacks upon Greece I am certainly convinced. I shall, as I proceed, carefully describe both the smaller cities and larger communities: for, many of these, at present possessed neither of opulence nor power, were formerly splendid and illustrious; others have, even within my remembrance, risen from humility to grandeur. From my conviction, therefore, of the precarious nature of human felicity[12], these shall all be respectively described.

VI. Crœsus, by descent a Lydian, was the son of Alyattes, and sovereign of those countries which

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[12] *Precarious nature of human felicity.*]—This moral reflection of Herodotus cannot fail of bringing to mind the consolatory letter written from Greece, by Sulpicius to Cicero, on the death of Tullia the orator's daughter. At the distance of more than four hundred years from the time of Herodotus, Sulpicius thus expresses himself on a similar occasion:—"On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I could not help looking round on the circumjacent country. Behind me was Ægina, before me Megara, Piræus on my right hand, Corinth on my left; all which places, formerly flourishing and happy, now lay before my eyes prostrate and in ruins," &c.

lie on this side the river Halys*. This stream, in its passage from the south[13] towards the north, passes through Syria[14] and Paphlagonia[15], and finally empties itself into the Euxine. Crœsus, we have reason to believe, was the first of the Barbarian princes who exacted tribute from some nations

* In the learned Major Rennel's improved Geography of Asia Minor, a work not yet published, the two branches of the Halys are clearly discriminated; one from the east, the other from the south. Of these Herodotus knew only the southern one, whilst Arrian (Perip. Mar. Eux.) knew the eastern branch. It is remarkable that D'Anville, in his younger days, believed the existence of the latter only, as he has proved by his works. The eastern branch rises out of Anti-Taurus, near Sebastia (Scivas); the other from the Cilician Taurus, near the modern Erekli, which is the Archelais of the ancients.

[13] *This stream, in its passage from the south.*]—There are different opinions concerning the course of this river. Arrian says, that it does not flow from the south, but from the east. This author, having in his mind the place of the sun's rising in winter, accuses Herodotus of a mistake in the passage before us. Wesseling had the same idea, who nevertheless has not solved the difficulty. The truth is, there were two rivers of this name, the one rising from the south, the other from the east. Herodotus speaks of the first, Arrian of the last. D'Anville is of the same opinion.—*Larcher.*

[14] *Syria.*]—Syria was at that time the name of Cappadocia. See Chapter lxxvi.—*T.*

[15] *Paphlagonia.*]—It may appear matter of surprise to some, that Herodotus should make the Syrians border on the Paphlagonians. But by the Syrians, Herodotus here means the Cappadocians, called by the Greeks Leuco, or White Syrians. This is obvious from Strabo, as well as from Herodotus himself in his second Book.—*Palmerius.*

of Greece, and entered into leagues of amity with others. Before his time, the Greeks were universally free; he, however, subdued the Æolians and the Ionians, with such of the Dorians as are situate in Asia, whilst he formed a friendly alliance with the Lacedæmonians. It appears that the incursion of the Cimmerians[16] into Ionia, was before the time of Crœsus; but their sole object was plunder, and none of the cities were molested.

16 *Cimmerians.*]—Strabo dates this incursion of the Cimmerians about the time of Homer, or somewhat before. Wesseling thinks, and with reason, the authority of the geographer of less weight than that of our historian, who supposes it to have been in the reign of Ardyis. See chap. xv. of this Book; and chap. xii. of Book IV. For my own part, I am of opinion that the two authors speak of two distinct incursions. Herodotus refers to the last. At the time of the first there were no Greek cities in Asia Minor; and it was his intention to intimate, that the last had no operation injurious to the liberties of Greece.—*Larcher.**

* *Cimmerians.*]—Many learned men are of opinion, that the Cimmerians were the descendants of the Gomer of scripture. The reasons alleged are of this nature: In the genealogical table of Moses, we are told that Gomer was the son of Japhet. The Scholiasts, and those of them too who are most authentic, say, that Cimmeris was the son of Japetus. Japetus is by Apollodorus said to be the son of Cœlum and Terra, that is of Noah, who was called Vir Terræ. Of Cimmerian darkness I have spoken elsewhere. I omitted to mention, that the Greek noun Κιμερος, means a mist or darkness, and Cimmerius, the Latin derivative, is applied to any thing dark or black. Strabo says that the soil of their country was black, from excessive heat: but this could not be peculiar to the country of the Cimmerians, it was probably common to other

VII. The family of Crœsus were named the Mermnadæ; and it may be proper to relate by what means the empire descended to them, from the Heraclidæ. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was king of Sardis, and of the family of Alcæus the son of Hercules[17]. The first of the Heraclidæ was Agron[18], who reigned also at Sardis; he was the son of Ninus, the grandson of Belus, the great-grandson of Alcæus. Candaules the son of Myrsus was the last of this race. The

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lands affected by the same cause. See Homer's description of the Cimmerians, Odyss. Book II. at the beginning—

There, in a lonely land and gloomy cell,
The dusky natives of Cimmeria dwell;
The sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,
When radiant he advances or retreats.
Unhappy race, whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.

POPE.

[17] *Alcæus the son of Hercules.*]—Concerning the name of the son of Hercules by the female slave of Jardanus, Diodorus Siculus and our historian are at variance. Herodotus calls him Alcæus, Diodorus says his name was Cleolaus. But it is by no means surprising, that in matters of such remote antiquity, writers should disagree. Apollodorus contradicts both Herodotus and Diodorus, and makes Crœsus not one of the Mermnadæ, but one of the Heraclidæ, born of Agelaus son of Hercules by Omphale. Diodorus calls the son of Hercules by Omphale, Lacon. I presume not to decide in this controversy, but with me the authority of Herodotus has the greatest weight.—*Palmerius.*

[18] *Agron.*]—Thus the best manuscripts spell this name. Julius Pollux says, that Ninus, son of Belus, called his son Agron because he was born in the country.—*Larcher.*

people of this district were in ancient times called Meonians; they were afterwards named Lydians, from Lydus the son of Atys. From him, before the time of Agron, the princes of the country derived their origin. The Heraclidæ, descended from Hercules and a female slave of Jardanus, enjoyed a delegated authority from these princes, and afterwards obtained the supreme dignity from the declaration of an oracle. They retained their power, in regular and uninterrupted succession, from father to son, to the time of Candaules, a period equal to twenty-two ages of man[20], being no less than five hundred and five years.

VIII. Candaules[21] was so vehemently attached to his wife that in his passion he conceived her beauty to be beyond all competition. Among those

[20] *Twenty-two ages of man.*]—For twenty-two, Larcher reads fifteen ages.—That it ought to be so I am ready enough to believe, and his arguments on the subject are clear, ingenious, and convincing; but, having no authority for this reading in any edition which I have had the opportunity of consulting, it was thought proper literally to translate the text.—*T.*

[21] *Candaules.*]—The story of Rosamond, queen of the Lombards, as related by Mr. Gibbon, bears so exact a resemblance to this of Candaules, that I am unable to forego the pleasure of transcribing it.—"The queen of Italy had stooped from her throne to the arms of a subject: and Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure, and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder he could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helmichis trembled when he revolved the danger, as well as the guilt. He pressed, and obtained, that one of the

who attended near his person, Gyges the son of Dascylus had rendered him essential service, and was honoured by his particular confidence. To him he frequently extolled the beauty of his wife, in exaggerated terms. Under the influence of a most fatal delusion, he took an opportunity of thus addressing him: "Gyges, I am satisfied, that we receive less conviction from what we hear, than from what we see[22], and, as you do not seem to

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bravest champions of the Lombards should be associated to the enterprise: but no more than a promise of secresy could be drawn from the gallant Perideus.—The mode of seduction employed by Rosamond, betrays her shameless insensibility both to honour and to love. She supplied the place of one of her female attendants, who was beloved by Perideus, and contrived some excuse for darkness and silence, till she could inform her companion, that he had enjoyed the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of the king, must be the consequence of such treasonable adultery. In this alternative he chose rather to be the accomplice than the victim of Rosamond, whose undaunted spirit was incapable of fear or remorse."—*Gibbon.*

22 *From what we hear, than from what we see.*]—Dionysius Halicarnassensis remarks on this passage, that Herodotus here, introducing a Barbarian to notice, makes use of a figurative expression peculiarly appropriate to Barbarians; substituting the ears and the eyes for the discourse and the sight of objects.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.
Hor. Ars Poet. 180.

Polybius coincides in part with our historian, when he advances, that nature having provided us with two instruments, if they may be so termed, of the senses, hearing and sight,

credit all I tell you of my wife's personal accomplishments, I am determined that you shall see her naked."—Gyges replied, much agitated, "What you propose is exceedingly improper: Remember, Sir, that with her clothes a woman puts off her modesty[23]. Many are the precepts

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the latter, according to Heraclitus, is the most certain, the eyes being more decisive evidences than the ears. This is in many respects true; but Theophrastus has sagaciously remarked, according to Plutarch, that of all the senses the ear is that by which the passions may be most easily excited.—*Larcher.*

Our veneration for the ancients, however, must not prevent us from perceiving, that both the above remarks want solidity. The truth is, that we do not more implicitly believe our eyes than our ears, or the contrary, except in those cases which respectively demand the testimony of either organs. It should be remembered, that when any thing is related to us, our ears give no kind of testimony concerning the fact, they inform us only that such words are spoken to us: after which, if what is related be an object of sight, we wish to appeal to our eyes for proof; if an object of hearing, to our ears; if of taste, smell, or touch, to the organs formed for such decision: and this is the sole ground of preference in any case. The remark of Horace rests on a different foundation, and is very just.—*T.*

[23] *With her clothes a woman puts off her modesty.*]—We can by no means, says Plutarch, in his Conjugal Precepts, allow this saying of Herodotus to be true: for surely, at this time, a modest woman is most effectually veiled by bashfulness, when the purest but most diffident affection proves, in the privacy of matrimonial retirement, the surest testimony of reciprocated love.—*T.*

Timæus in Athenæus affirms, that the Tyrrhenians accustomed themselves to be waited upon by naked women; and

recorded by wise men for our instruction, but there is none more entitled to our regard than that 'it becomes a man to look into those things only which concern himself.' I give implicit confidence to your assertions, I am willing to believe my mistress the most beautiful of her sex; but I entreat you to forbear repeating an unlawful request."

IX. Gyges, from apprehension of the event, would have persevered in his refusal; but the king could not be dissuaded from his purpose. "Gyges," he resumed, "you have nothing to fear from me or from your mistress; I do not want to make experiment of your fidelity, and I shall render it impossible for the queen to detect you. I myself will place you behind an open door of the apartment in which we sleep. As soon as I enter, my wife will make her appearance; it is her custom to undress herself at leisure, and to place her garments one by one on a chair near the entrance. You will have the best opportunity of contemplating her person. As soon as she approaches the bed, and her face is turned from you, you must

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Theopompus, in the same author,* adds, that among the above-mentioned people it was by no means disgraceful for women to appear naked amongst men.—*Larcher.*

* A great variety of the richest wines were poured out in profusion; the dessert was composed of the most delicious fruits; and the company was attended by a considerable number of extremely handsome negro and mulatto maids, all naked from the waist upwards, according to the custom of the country.—*Stedman's Surinam.*

be careful to leave the room without being discovered.

X. Gyges had no alternative but compliance. At the time of retiring to rest, he accompanied Candaules to his chamber, and the queen soon afterwards appeared. He saw her enter, and gradually disrobe herself. She approached the bed; and Gyges endeavoured to retire; but the queen saw and knew him. She instantly conceived her husband to be the cause of her disgrace, and determined on revenge. She had the presence of mind to restrain the emotions of her wounded delicacy, and to seem entirely ignorant of what had happened; although, among all the Barbarian nations[24], and among the Lydians in particular, it is deemed a matter of the greatest turpitude even for a man to be seen naked.

XI. The queen preserved the strictest silence; and, in the morning, having prepared some confi-

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[24] *Among all the Barbarian nations.*]—Plato informs us, that the Greeks had not long considered it as a thing equally disgraceful and ridiculous for a man to be seen naked; an opinion, says he, which still exists amongst the greater part of the Barbarians.—*Larcher.*

To the above remark of Larcher may be added, that, according to Plutarch, it was amongst the institutes of Lycurgus, that the young women of Sparta should dance naked at their solemn feasts and sacrifices; at which time also they were accustomed to sing certain songs, whilst the young men stood in a circle about them, to see and hear them.—*T.*

dential servants for the occasion, she sent for Gyges. Not at all suspicious that she knew what had happened, he complied with the message, as he had been accustomed to do at other times, and appeared before his mistress[25]. As soon as he came into her presence, she thus addressed him: "Gyges, I submit two proposals to your choice; destroy Candaules, and take possession of me and of the Lydian kingdom, or expect immediate death. From your unqualified obedience to your master, you may again be a spectator of what modesty forbids: the king has been the author of my disgrace; you also, in seeing me naked, have violated decorum; and it is necessary that one of you should die."—

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[25] *Appeared before his mistress.*]—The wife of Candaules, whose name Herodotus forbears to mention, was, according to Hephæstion, called Nyssia. Authors are divided in their account of this Gyges, and of the manner in which he slew Candaules. Plato makes him a shepherd in the service of the Lydian king, who was possessed of a ring which he found on the finger of a dead man inclosed within a horse of bronze. The shepherd, learning the property which this ring had, to render him invisible when the seal was turned to the inside of his hand, got himself deputed to the court by his fellows, where he seduced the queen, and assassinated Candaules. Xenophon says he was a slave; but this is not inconsistent with the account of Plato, were it in other respects admissible. Plutarch pretends, that Gyges took up arms against Candaules, assisted by the Milesians. The opinion of Herodotus seems preferable to the rest: born in a city contiguous to Lydia, no person could be better qualified to represent what related to that kingdom.—*Larcher.*

Gyges, after he had somewhat recovered from his astonishment, implored her not to compel him to so delicate and difficult an alternative. But when he found that expostulations were vain, and that he must either kill Candaules, or die himself by the hands of others, he chose rather to be the survivor. "Since my master must perish," he replied, "and, notwithstanding my reluctance, by my hands, tell me how your purpose shall be accomplished?" "The deed," she answered, "shall be perpetrated in that very place where he exhibited me naked: but you shall kill him in his sleep."

[26] XII. Their measures were accordingly concerted: Gyges had no opportunity of escape, nor of evading the alternative proposed. At the approach of night, the queen conducted him to her chamber, and placed him behind the same door, with a dagger in his hand. Candaules was murdered in his sleep, and Gyges took immediate possession of his wife and of the empire. Of the above event, Archilochus[27] of Paros, who lived

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[26] Upon the event recorded in this chapter, the firste booke of the old translation of Herodotus, before mentioned, Clio has this curious remark in the margin: "The Divil in old tyme a disposer of kingdomes, and since the Pope."—*T.*

[27] *Archilochus.*]—As without these concluding lines the sense would be complete, many have suspected them to have been inserted by some copyist. Scaliger has reasoned upon them, as if Herodotus meant to intimate, that because Archi-

about the same period, has made mention in some Trimeter Iambics.

XIII. A declaration of the Delphic oracle, confirmed Gyges in his possession of the sovereignty. The Lydians resented the fate of Candaules, and had recourse to arms. A stipulation was at length made betwixt the different parties, that if the oracle decided in favour of Gyges, he should continue on the throne; if otherwise, it should revert to the Heraclidæ. Although Gyges retained the supreme authority, the words of the oracle

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lochus makes mention of Gyges in his verses, he must have lived at the same period; but this by no means follows.

Of Archilochus, Quintilian remarks, that he was one of the first writers of Iambics; that his verses were remarkable for their ingenuity, their elegant style, and nervous sentiment. Book x. chap. 1.—He is also honourably mentioned by Horace, who confesses that he imitates him. See 19th Epistle, Book 1st. Ovid, if the Ibis be his, speaks too of the Parian Poet. Cicero, in his Tusculan Questions, says, that he lived in the time of Romulus. His compositions were so extremely licentious, that the Lacedæmonians ordered them to be removed from their city, and Archilochus himself to be banished. He was afterwards killed in some military excursion, by a person of the name of Coracus. The reputation of Archilochus was such that the Pythians would not allow the man who killed him to enter the temple, till he had expiated his crime. Whoever wishes to have a more particular account of Archilochus, may consult Lilius Gyraldus de Poetar. Histor. dialog. ix. chap. 14. The fragments of this author may be found in Brunck's Analecta.

expressly intimated, that the Heraclidæ should be avenged in the person of the fifth descendant of Gyges. To this prediction, until it was ultimately accomplished, neither princes nor people paid the smallest attention. Thus did the Mermnadæ obtain the empire, to the injurious exclusion of the Heraclidæ.

XIV. Gyges, as soon as he was established in his authority, sent various presents to Delphi[28], a considerable quantity of which were of silver. Among other marks of his liberality, six golden

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[28] *Presents to Delphi.*]—Amongst the subjects of literary controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, this was one: Boyle defended Delp*hos*, principally from its being the common usage: Bentley rejects Delphos as a barbarism, it being merely the accusative case of Delphi. He tells a story of a Popish Priest, who for thirty years had read mumpsimus in his Breviary, instead of sumpsimus; and, when a learned man told him of his blunder, replied, I will not change my old mumpsimus for your new sumpsimus. From a similar mistake in the old editions of the Bible in Henry the Eighth's time, it was printed Asson and Mileton; under Queen Elizabeth, it was changed into Asson and Miletum; but in the reign of James the First, it was rectified to Assos and Miletus.—*T.* See *Bentley on Phalaris.**

* *Delphi.*]—Swift made a point of always writing Delphos: upon which Jortin facetiously remarks, that he should have submitted to reason, and received instruction from whatever quarter it came; from Wotton, from Bentley, or from Beelzebub.

goblets [29], which weighed * no less than thirty talents, deserve particular attention. These now stand in the treasury of Corinth; though, in strict truth, that treasure was not given by the people of Corinth, but by Cypselus the son of Eetion [30]. This Gyges was the first of the Barbarians whose history we know, who made votive offerings to the oracle, after Midas the son of Gordius [31], king of

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[29] *Six golden goblets.*]—In the time of Herodotus, the proportion of silver to gold was as one to thirteen: these six goblets, therefore, were equivalent to 2,106,000 livres. The calculations of Herodotus differ in some respects from those of Diodorus Siculus.—*Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis.* See *Purchas*, vol. i. p. 35.

Alyattes and Crœsus obtained their wealth from some mines in Lydia, situated between Atarna and Pergamos. The riches of Gyges were proverbial, and were mentioned in the verses of Archilochus: those of Crœsus effectually surpass them.

Divitis audita est cui non opulentia Crœsi.—*Ovid.*

Larcher.

* It may here properly be observed, that Herodotus always refers to the weights and measures of Greece, and of Athens in particular.

[30] *But by Cypselus the son of Eetion.*]—In the temple at Delphi were certain different apartments or chapels, belonging to different cities, princes, or opulent individuals. The offerings which these respectively made to the Deity, were here deposited.—*Larcher.*

[31] *Midas the son of Gordius.*]—There were in Phrygia a number of princes called after these names, as is sufficiently proved by Bouhier.—*Larcher.*

Phrygia. Midas consecrated to this purpose his own royal throne, a most beautiful specimen of art, from which he himself was accustomed to administer justice. This was deposited in the same place with the goblets of Gyges, to whose offerings of gold and silver, the Delphians assigned the name of the donor. Gyges, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, carried his arms against Miletus and Smyrna*, and took the city Colophon. Although he reigned thirty-eight years, he performed no other remarkable exploit: I shall proceed, therefore, to speak of his son and successor, Ardys.

XV. This prince vanquished the Prienians, and attacked Miletus. During his reign, the Cimmerians, being expelled their country by the Nomades of Scythia, passed over into Asia, and possessed themselves of all Sardis, except the citadel.

XVI. After reigning forty-nine years, he was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years. After him, his son Alyattes possessed the throne. He carried on war against Cyaxares [32]

* It appears from Pausanias, that the ancient poet Mimnermus wrote some elegiac verses upon this expedition of Gyges against Smyrna.

[32] *Against Cyaxares.*]—This is perfectly consistent. Phra-

the grandson of Deioces, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna, which Colophon [33] had built, and invaded Clazomenæ. In his designs upon this place he was greatly disappointed; but he performed, in the course of his reign, these very memorable actions.

XVII. He resumed the war against the Milesians, which his father had commenced; and he conducted it in this manner:—When the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into their country to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes masculine and feminine [34]. On his arrival in their territories, he neither pulled down

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ortes, the father of Cyaxares, reigned in Media at the same time that Ardys, grandfather of Alyattes, sat on the throne of Sardis.—*Larcher.*

[33] *Colophon.*]—Gyges had taken Colophon, about which time doubtless a colony deserted it, and settled at Smyrna. Κτιζω, as Wesseling properly observes, is continually used for, to send out a colony. In chap. cl. it is said, that some Colophonians, banished for sedition, had settled at Smyrna. If he alludes to the same emigrants, their sedition was probably against Gyges, after his conquest; but they could hardly be numerous or respectable enough to deserve the name of a colony.—*T.*

[34] *Flutes masculine and feminine.*]—Aulus Gellius says, that Alyattes had in his army female players on the flute. Larcher is of opinion, that Herodotus alludes only to the different kinds of flutes mentioned in Terence, or perhaps to the Lydian and Phrygian flutes, the sound of one of which was grave, of the other acute.—*T.*

nor burned, nor in any respect injured, their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed their trees and the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Milesians were masters of the sea, the siege of their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that on every repetition of his incursions, he might be secure of plunder.

XVIII. In this manner the war was protracted during a period of eleven years; in which time the Milesians received two remarkable defeats, one in a pitched battle at Limeneium, within their own territories, another on the plains of Meander. Six of these eleven years, Sadyattes the son of Ardys reigned over the Lydians: he commenced the Milesian war, which his son Alyattes afterwards continued with increase of ardour. The Milesians, in this contest, received assistance from none of the Ionians, except from Chios. The inhabitants of Chios offered their support, in return for the aid which they had formerly received from the Milesians, in a war with the Erythræans.

XIX. In the twelfth year of the war, the following event happened, in consequence of the corn being set on fire by the enemy's army. A

sudden wind directed the flames against the temple of the Assesian Minerva[35], and entirely consumed it. It was at first considered as a matter of no importance; but after the return of the army to Sardis, Alyattes was seized with a severe and lingering disease. From the impulse of his own mind, or from the persuasion of friends, he sent to make enquiries of the oracle concerning his recovery. On the arrival of his messengers, the Pythian said, that till the temple of the Assesian Minerva, which they had consumed by fire, should be restored, no answer would be given them.

XX. I was myself informed of this circumstance at Delphi; but the Milesians add more. They tell us, that Periander the son of Cypselus, when he heard the answer given to Alyattes, dispatched an emissary to Thrasybulus king of Miletus, with whom he was intimately connected,

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[35] *Assesian Minerva.*]—Assesos was a small town dependent on Miletus. Minerva here had a temple, and hence took the name of the Assesian Minerva. This deity was then called the Minerva of Assesos; as we say, at the present day, the Virgin of Loretto.—*Larcher.*

The Virgin of the Romish church certainly resembles, in many respects, a heathen tutelary divinity; and affords one of those instances of similarity between one worship and the other, so well illustrated in Middleton's celebrated Letter from Rome.—*T.*

desiring him to pay suitable attention to the present emergence. This is the Milesian narrative.

XXI. Alyattes, on the return of his messengers, dispatched a herald to Miletus, whose commission was, to make a truce with Thrasybulus for such time as might be required to repair the temple. Thrasybulus, in consequence of the intimation he had received, was aware of the intentions of Alyattes, and conducted himself in this manner: All the corn which was found, or could be procured at Miletus, was, by his direction, collected in the most public place of the city: he then ordered the Milesians, at an appointed period, to commence a scene of feasting and convivial mirth[36].

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36 *Convivial mirth.*]—Many stratagems of a similar nature with this of Thrasybulus, may be found in the Stratagemata of Polyænus; a book not so well known as it deserves: though, since the first edition of this work was published, it has been translated into English.—*T.**

* *Scene of feasting, &c.*]—A similar artifice is recorded of one of the Roman generals, I forget which, who, though reduced to the extremest want, ordered all the bread remaining, after a long siege, to be thrown over the walls amongst the enemy. The besiegers, fatigued and exhausted, imagined that their opponents were prepared to hold out much longer, and hastily retired. See also Cæsar, in his account of the civil war, book iii. 48. where he tells us, that his soldiers made bread of a root called chara, adding, ex hoc effectos panes, quum in colloquiis Pompeiani famem nostris objectarent, vulgo in eos jaciebant, ut spem eorum minuerent.

XXII. Thrasybulus intended the Sardian ambassador should inform his master of the scene of festivity, and of the abundance of provisions he had beheld. He was not disappointed: the herald witnessed the above-mentioned spectacle, delivered his message, and returned to Sardis. This, as I have been informed, was the real occasion of the peace which ensued.

Alyattes had imagined, that the Milesians suffered exceedingly from the scarcity of corn, and were reduced to extreme distress. The return of his messenger convinced him he had been mistaken. A strict alliance was immediately formed betwixt the two nations: instead of one, Alyattes erected two temples to Minerva, and was soon afterwards restored to health.—The above is a faithful account of the war betwixt Alyattes and the Milesians.

XXIII. Periander, the son of Cypselus, who communicated to Thrasybulus the reply of the oracle, was king of Corinth. A most wonderful incident is said by the Corinthians to have happened in his time, and the story is confirmed by the Lesbians. It is asserted, that Arion the Methymnæan was carried to Tænarus on the back of a dolphin. [37] He excelled all his contemporaries

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[37] *He excelled.*]—Arion, it seems, was a Citharædus, which differed from the Citharistes in this: the former accompanied his instrument with his voice; the latter did not.

in his exquisite performance on the harp; and we have reason to suppose he was the first who invented, named, and taught at Corinth, the Dithyrambic measure[38].

XXIV. This Arion, they say, after residing for a considerable time at the court of Periander, was desirous of visiting Italy and Sicily. Having there acquired considerable wealth, he wished to return with it to Corinth: with this view, he embarked at Tarentum in a Corinthian vessel, preferring the mariners of that nation. As soon as they stood out to sea, the sailors determined to destroy Arion, for the sake of his riches. He discovered their intentions, and offered them his money, to preserve his life. The men were obdurate, and insisted, that he should either kill himself, that they might bury him on shore[39], or leap instantly into the sea. Reduced to this extremity,

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38 *Dithyrambic measure.*]—This was a kind of verse or hymn in honour of Bacchus, or in praise of drinking: it was a rude and perplexed composition, replete with figurative and obscure expressions.—*Bellanger.*

Clemens of Alexandria affirms, that the inventor of the Dithyrambic was Lassus or Lasus of Hermione. It should seem, however, from Pindar and his scholiast, that this species of poetry is so very ancient that its original inventor cannot be ascertained.—*Larcher.*

39 *Bury him on shore.*]—This passage, which perplexed the learned Reiske, seems to me sufficiently clear. The sailors indirectly promised Arion that they would bury him, if he would be the instrument of his own death.—*Wesseling.*

he entreated, that if they would not spare his life, they would at least suffer him to dress himself in his most valuable clothes, and to give them a specimen of his art in singing; promising, that as soon as he had finished, he would destroy himself. They were anxious to hear a man, reputed the greatest performer in the world, and, in compliance with his request, retired from him to the middle * of their vessel. He accordingly adorned himself splendidly, and standing on the side of the ship with his harp in his hand, he sang to them a species of song, termed Orthian[40]. As soon as he had finished, he threw himself, dressed as he was, into the sea. The mariners pursued their course to Corinth; but he, it is affirmed[41], was taken up by a dolphin and carried to Tænarus.

* The nautical word for this is the waist.

[40] *Orthian.*]—The Orthian hymn was an air performed either on a flute or cithara, in an elevated key and a quick time. It was, therefore, peculiarly adapted to animate combatants. See Aulus Gellius. By this species of song, Timotheus so inflamed the ardour of Alexander, that he instantly leaped up and called for his arms. See Eustathius. See also Dryden's Ode on St. Cæcilia's Day. Maximus Tyrius says, that to excite military ardour, the Orthian song was peculiarly adapted, as that called Parænion was for social and convivial occasions. See also Homer, book xi.

Thence the black fury through the Grecian throng
With horror sounds the loud Orthian song.—*T.*

[41] *It is affirmed.*]—Voltaire abuses Herodotus for telling this story, as considering it true; but surely without reason, as he by no means vouches for its truth.

As soon as he got on shore, he went, without changing his dress, to Corinth, and on his arrival told what had befallen him. Periander disbelieved his story; and, keeping him in close custody, endeavoured to find out the crew. When they appeared before him, he enquired if they could give him any intelligence of Arion; they replied, that his excursion to Italy had been successful, and that they had left him well at Tarentum. Arion then shewed himself, dressed as they had seen him leap into the sea: overcome with terror, they confessed their crime. This event is related both by the Corinthians and the Lesbians; and there remains at Tænarus a small figure in brass, of a man seated on a dolphin's back*, the votive offering of Arion himself.

* Larcher thus plausibly explains the story. Arion threw himself into the sea in the harbour of Tarentum, or in the road at no great distance. The Corinthians, without giving themselves farther trouble about him, set sail. He gained the shore; and if the remainder of the story has any foundation in truth, he probably met with a vessel ready to set sail, and which was a better sailer than that of the Corinthians. There is on the head of vessels, figures from which the vessels themselves often take their names; as the Centaur, and the Mermaid, &c. The vessel on which Arion went on board the second time, had doubtless a dolphin at the head, and this circumstance might occasion the story of Arion's being saved by a dolphin.

Larcher adds, that Helle embarked in a vessel having a ram on its prow, which gave rise to the tradition that she passed, on a ram, the sea which bears her name.

XXV. When he had put an end to the Milesian war, and after a reign of fifty-seven years, Alyattes died. He was the second of his family who made an offering at Delphi, which he did in consequence of his recovery from illness. He presented a large silver goblet, with a saucer of iron[42], curiously inlayed; it is of surprising workmanship, and as worthy of observation as any of the offerings preserved at Delphi. The name of the maker was Glaucus, an inhabitant of Chios, and the inventor of this art of inlaying iron.

XXVI. On the death of his father, Crœsus succeeded to the throne; he began to reign at the age of thirty-five, and he immediately commenced hostilities with the Ephesians. Whilst he besieged Ephesus[43] with an army, the inhabitants made a solemn dedication of their city to Minerva, con-

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Pliny, after reciting a number of facts, to prove the friendship of dolphins for man, infers that the tale of Arion may be believed.

Upon the base of this figure was the following inscription:

"This saved from the sea of Sicily, by the favour of heaven, Arion son of Cylon."

An ode expressive of Arion's gratitude, though certainly of much later date, is found in Brunck's Analecta.—*T.*

42 *Saucer of iron.*]—This is mentioned in Pausanias, Book x. where also Glaucus is spoken of as the original inventor of the art. A farther account of Glaucus may be found in Junius de Pictura Veterum.—*T.*

43 *Whilst he besieged Ephesus.*]—The prince of Ephesus, at this time, was Pindar the nephew of Crœsus; the story is told at length by Ælian, Book iii. chap. 26.—*T.*

necting with a rope[44] their walls to the temple of the goddess*. This temple is at a distance of about seven stadia from the old town, which was then besieged. These Crœsus attacked first. Soon afterwards he made war on every state, both of the Ionians and the Æolians: the motives which he assigned were various, important in some instances, but, when such could not be found, frivolous pretexts sufficed.

XXVII. Not satisfied with compelling the Asiatic Greeks to pay him tribute, he determined to build a fleet, and attack those who lived in the islands. He was deterred from this purpose, although he had made great preparations, by the

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[44] *A rope.*]—The object of the ancients, by thus consecrating their towns, was to detain the deities by a kind of force, and prevent their departure. It was believed, that when a city was on the point of being taken, the deities abandoned it.—*Larcher.*

* Æschylus, in the Seven Chiefs against Thebes, makes Eteocles say,

> The gods they say prepare
> To quit their seats and leave a vanquished town.

See *Virgil*, Æn. 2.

> Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
> Dii quibus imperium hoc steterat.

Mr. Jodrell observes, that the Shekinah, or Divine Presence, was withdrawn from the ark of the first temple before it was destroyed by the king of Babylon.—*T.*

memorable reply of Bias[45] of Priene, who was at that time in Sardis; or, as others say, of Pittacus[46] of Mitylene. The king was enquiring of this person, whether there was any news from Greece: "The Islanders, Sir," he replied, "are collecting a body of ten thousand horse, to attack you and Sardis." The king, supposing him serious, said, he hoped the gods might put it into the minds of the Islanders to invade the Lydians with Cavalry. The other thus interrupted him: "Your wish to see the inhabitants of the islands pursue such measures, is certainly reasonable; but do you not imagine, that your building a fleet to attack the Islanders, must give them equal satisfaction?

[45] *Bias.*]—Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus, severally give an account of Bias. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece. Some fishermen found a golden tripod, upon which was inscribed, "To the wisest:" it was given to Bias, who sent it to Delphi. When his vanquished countrymen fled before the enemy, each took with him the most valuable part of his property. Bias took nothing: on being asked why, "I always carry," he replied, "my most valuable things about me," meaning his learning and abilities.—*T.*

[46] *Pittacus.*]—Pittacus of Mitylene was another of the seven wise men. His life is written by Diogenes Laertius. In a war betwixt the Athenians and the people of Mitylene, he challenged the enemy's general to single combat, and with a net which he secretly brought, he entangled and easily conquered his adversary. From this circumstance, the contests of the Retiarii and Mirmillones are said first to have arisen. His most memorable saying was—"Endeavour to prevent calamity; if it happen, bear it with equanimity."—*T.*

They can wish for no better opportunity of revenging the cause of those Greeks on the continent, reduced by you to servitude, than by meeting the Lydians on the ocean." The wisdom of the remark was acceptable to Crœsus: he declined all thoughts of constructing a fleet, and entered into an amicable alliance with the Ionians of the Islands.

XXVIII. He afterwards progressively subdued almost all the nations which are situate on this side the river Halys. The Cilicians and the Lycians alone, were not brought under his yoke; but he totally vanquished the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandinians*, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians.

XXIX. After Crœsus had obtained all these victories, and extended the power of the Lydians, Sardis became the resort of the great and the affluent, as well as of those who were celebrated in Greece for their talents and their wis-

* *Mariandinians.*]—These people were the inventors of the shrill pipe used at funerals, which was sometimes also called gingros (γιγγρος). Hence Μαριανδυνος αυλος, more Mariandyno vociferat. Pollux says this pipe was contrived by a Phœnician.—By a Phœnician, these authors seem to mean, one who spoke the Eastern language, and not the Greek. Æschylus has the expression, Μαριανδυνον βοα.

dom†. Among these was Solon[47]: at the request of the Athenians, he had formed a code of laws for their use. He had then engaged in a course of travels, which was to be of ten years continuance; his avowed purpose was of a philosophical nature; but his real object was to avoid the necessity of abrogating the laws he had enacted. The Athenians were of themselves unable to do this, having bound themselves, by the most solemn oaths, to preserve inviolate, for ten years, the institutions of Solon.

XXX. On account of these laws, as well as to see the world, Solon in his travels had visited Amasis, in Egypt, and came now to Crœsus[48], at

† The Greek is σοφισται, a term honourable at first, but afterwards odious. When the sages and philosophers discoursed upon virtue without mercenary views, the name of sophist was honourable; but when they prostituted their knowledge for hire, the word became a term of contempt. "We call him sophist," says Xenophon, "who sells to the first comer his wisdom for gold."

47 *Solon.*]—To give a particular account of Solon, would exceed our limits. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece, was born at Salamis; and, according to Aulus Gellius, flourished at Athens, when Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome. He was a wise, but severe legislator, rescuing his countrymen from superstition, ignorance, and vice. His life is given at length by Plutarch.—*T.*

48 *Came now to Crœsus.*]—It is doubted by some authors, whether the interview which is here described, ever took place. The sagacious reply of Solon to Crœsus has been introduced in a variety of compositions ancient and modern.

Sardis. He was received on his arrival with the kindest hospitality, and entertained in the palace of Crœsus. In a few days, the king directed his servants to attend Solon to the different repositories of his wealth, and to shew him their splendid and valuable contents. When he had observed them all, Crœsus thus addressed him:—"My Athenian guest, the voice of fame speaks loudly of your wisdom. I have heard much of your travels; that you have been led by a truly philosophic spirit, to visit a considerable portion of the globe. I am hence induced to enquire of you, what man, of all whom you have beheld, seemed to you most happy?" The expectation of being himself

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See Juvenal, Sat. x. verse 273*. See Ausonius also, and Ovid†. The dying speech of Julian, as given by Mr. Gibbon, from Libanius, (vol. iv. p. 200, octavo edition) contains many sentiments similar to these of Solon. "I have learned," says Julian, "from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety." Upon which, after commending this story of Cleobis and Bito, in Herodotus, our English historian adds, "Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th Book of the Iliad) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave." Pausanias relates, that this history is represented in a marble monument at Argos.—*T.*

* - - - - - I pass in silence by
The fate of Mithridates, sad event,
And Crœsus, whom that old man, eloquent,
Wisely forbad in future to confide,
Or take the name of HAPPY, till he died.—GIFFORD.

† - - - - - - Ultima semper
Expectanda dies homini, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera debet.

esteemed the happiest of mankind, prompted his enquiry. Solon proved by his reply, his attachment to truth, and abhorrence of flattery *. "I think," said he, "O king, that Tellus the Athenian best deserved the appellation of happy. Crœsus was astonished; "On what," he asked, "were the claims of Tellus, to this distinction, founded?" "Because," answered Solon, "under the protection of a most excellent form of government, Tellus had many virtuous and amiable children; he saw their offspring, and they all survived him: at the close of a prosperous life, we celebrated his funeral, with every circumstance of honour. In a contest with some of their neighbours, at Eleusis, he flew to the assistance of his countrymen; he contributed to the defeat of the enemy, and met death in the field of glory. The

* There is an admirable paper in the Spectator upon this subject, which thus concludes:

"We should not be led away by the censures and applauses of men, but consider the figure that every person will make at that time when wisdom shall be justified of her children, and nothing pass for great or illustrious, which is not an ornament and perfection to human nature.

The story of Gyges, the rich Lydian monarch, is a memorable instance to our present purpose. The oracle being asked by Gyges, who was the happiest man, replied Aglaus. Gyges, who expected to have heard himself named on this occasion, was much surprised, and very curious to know who this Aglaus should be. After much enquiry, he was found to be an obscure countryman, who employed all his time in cultivating a garden and a few acres of land about his house. —*Spectator*, No, 610.

Athenians publicly buried him in the place where he fell; and his funeral pomp was magnificently attended."

XXXI. Solon was continuing to make respectful mention of Tellus, when Crœsus anxiously interrupted him, and desired to know, whom, next to Tellus, he esteemed most happy; not doubting but the answer would now be favourable to himself. "Cleobis and Bito," replied Solon: "they were Argives by birth, fortunate in their circumstances, and so remarkable for their bodily prowess, that they had both of them been crowned as conquerors in their public games. It is farther related of them, that on a certain festival of Juno, their mother was to have been carried to the temple in a chariot drawn by oxen. The beasts were not ready[49] for the purpose; but the young men instantly took the yokes upon themselves, and drew their mother in the carriage to the temple, through a space of forty-five furlongs. Having performed this in the presence of innumerable spectators, they terminated their lives in a manner which was singularly fortunate. In this event, the deity made it appear, that death is a greater blessing to mankind, than life. The surrounding

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[49] *The beasts were not ready.*]—Servius, in his commentaries on Virgil, says, that the want of oxen, on this occasion, was on account of a pestilential malady, which had destroyed all the cattle belonging to Argos.—*Servius ad Virgil. Georg. lib.* iii. 522.

multitude proclaimed their praise: the men commended their prowess: the women envied their mother; who was delighted with the deed itself, and the glory which attended it. Standing before the shrine, she implored the divinity, in whose honour her sons' exertions had been made, to grant them the greatest blessing man could receive. After her prayers, and when the succeeding sacrifice and festival was ended, the young men retired to rest within the temple; but they rose no more. The Argives have preserved at Delphi, the figures of Cleobis and Bito, as of men deserving superior distinction. This, according to Solon's estimate, was happiness in the second degree.

XXXII. Crœsus was still dissatisfied: "Man of Athens," he resumed, "think you so meanly of my prosperity, as to place me even beneath men of private and obscure condition?" "Crœsus," he replied, "you enquire of me my sentiments of human nature; of me who consider the divine beings as viewing men with invidious and malignant aspects[50]. In the space of a protracted life, how many things occur, which we see with reluc-

50 *With invidious and malignant aspects.*]—This is one of the passages in which the malignity of Herodotus, according to Plutarch, is most conspicuous. Thus, says Plutarch, attributing to Solon what he himself thinks of the gods, he adds malice to blasphemy.—*T.*

tance and support with anguish *. I will suppose the term of human life to extend to seventy years[51]; this period, if we except the intercalatory months, will amount to twenty-five thousand two hundred days: to make our computation regular and exact, suppose we add this month to each alternate year, we shall then have thirty-five additional months, or one thousand two hundred and fifty days. The whole seventy years will therefore

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* Alas! regardless of their doom
The little victims play;
No sense have they of ills to come,
Nor care beyond to-day.
Yet see, how all around them wait
The ministers of human fate,
And black misfortune's baleful-train;
Ah! shew them where in ambush stand,
To seize their prey, the murderous band:
Ah! tell them they are men. *Gray.*

51 *The term of human life to extend to seventy years, &c.*]—This passage is confessedly one of the most difficult in Herodotus. Larcher has a long and ingenious note upon the subject, which I have omitted; as well from its extreme length, as from its not being entirely consistent with my plan. It is not unworthy observation, that Stobæus, who has given this discourse of Solon, omits altogether the passage in question; and, indeed, Larcher himself is of opinion, that the original text of Herodotus has been here altered.—*T.**

* *To seventy years.*]—See Psalm xc. verse 10.

"The days of our age are threescore years and ten; and though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow; so soon passeth it away, and we are gone."

consist of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days, yet of this number every day will be productive of some new incident. Thus, Crœsus, our nature appears a continued series of calamity. I see you as the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But I shall not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question you propose, till I know that your scene of life shall have closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not, in fact, more happy than the possessor of a bare sufficiency; unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate[52]. We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in humbler stations. The rich man, who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humbler but more fortunate character, with whom we compare him. Yet there are a variety of incidents in which the latter excels the former. The rich man can gratify his passions; and has little to apprehend from accidental injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him entirely from these sources of affliction. He, moreover, possesses strength and health; a stranger to misfortune, he is blessed in his children, and amiable in himself. If at the end of such a life, his death be

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52 *His end of life be fortunate.*]—This sentence of Solon is paraphrased by Sophocles, in his Œdipus Tyrannus. It was, indeed, a very favourite sentiment with the Greeks in general. See the Andromache of Euripides, verse 99; with many other places in his tragedies.—*Larcher.*

fortunate, this, O king, is the truly happy man; the object of your enquiry. Call no man happy till you know the nature of his death *; he is at best but fortunate. All these requisites for happiness it is in no man's power to obtain, for no one region can supply them; it affords, perhaps, the enjoyment of some, but it is remarkable for the absence of others. That which yields the more numerous sources of gratification, is so far the best: such also is the imperfection of man, excellent in some respects, weak and defective in others. He who possesses the most advantages, and afterwards leaves the world with composure, he alone, O Crœsus, is entitled to our admiration. It is the part of wisdom to look to the event of things; for the Deity often overwhelms with misery, those

* See the conclusion of the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles.

Let mortals hence be taught to look beyond
The present time, nor dare to say, a man
Is happy, till the last decisive hour
Shall close his life without the taste of woe.

Which, as Larcher observes, seems to be a paraphrase of the words of Herodotus.

See also the Andromache of Euripides:

We never ought to call
Frail mortals happy, at their latest hour,
Till we behold them to the shades descend.

The idea appears to have been a favourite one with the ancient writers.—*T.*

who have formerly been placed at the summit of felicity."

XXXIII. To these words of Solon, Crœsus refused both his esteem and praise, and he afterwards dismissed the philosopher with indifference [53]. The sentiment which prompts us not to be elate with temporary bliss, but to look beyond the present moment, appeared to Crœsus neither wise nor just.

XXXIV. Solon was no sooner departed, than, as if to punish Crœsus for his arrogance, in esteeming himself the happiest of mankind, a wonderful event befel him, which seemed a visitation from heaven. He saw in his sleep a vision, menacing the calamity which afterwards deprived him of his son; Crœsus had two sons; the one marked by natural defect, being dumb; the other, whose name

53 *Dismissed the philosopher with indifference.*]—At this period the celebrated Æsop was also at the court of Crœsus, and much respected. He was afflicted with the disgrace of Solon; and, conversing with him as a friend,—"You see, Solon," said he, "that we must either not come nigh kings, or we must entertain them with things agreeable to them." "That is not the point," replied Solon; "you should either say nothing to them, or tell them what is useful."—"I must confess," says Bayle, after relating the above, "that this caution of Æsop argues a man well acquainted with the court and great men; but Solon's answer is the true lesson of divines, who direct the consciences of princes."—*T.*

was Atys, was distinguished by his superior accomplishments. The intimation of the vision which Crœsus saw, was, that Atys should die by the point of an iron spear. Roused and terrified by his dream, he revolved the matter seriously in his mind. His first step was to settle his son in marriage: he then took from him the command of the Lydian troops, whom he before conducted in their warlike expeditions: the spears and darts, with every other kind of hostile weapon, he removed from the apartments of the men to those of the women, that his son might not suffer injury from the fall of them, as they were suspended.

XXXV. Whilst the nuptials of this son employed his attention, an unfortunate homicide arrived at Sardis, a Phrygian by nation, and of the royal family. He presented himself at the palace of Crœsus, from whom he required and received expiation[54] with the usual ceremonies. The Lydian mode of expiation nearly resembles that of

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[54] *Expiation.*]—It was the office of the priests to expiate for crimes committed either from accident or design, and they were therefore called Kathartai, Purifiers: but it should appear from the above, and other similar incidents, that kings anciently exercised the functions of the priesthood.—*T.*

The scholiast of Homer informs us, (See verse 48, last book of the Iliad) that it was customary amongst the ancients, for whoever had committed an involuntary murder, to leave his

the Greeks. When Crœsus had performed what custom exacted, he enquired who and whence he was. " From what part," said he, " of Phrygia,

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country, and fly to the house of some powerful individual. There, covering himself, he sate down, and entreated to be purified.—No writer has given a more full, and at the same time more correct account of the ceremonies of expiation, than Apollonius Rhodius.

Their visit's cause her troubled mind distress'd;
On downy seats she plac'd each princely guest.
They round her hearth sate motionless and mute;
With plaintive suppliants such manners suit.
Her folded hands her blushing face conceal;
Deep in the ground he fix'd the murd'rous steel:
Nor dare they once, in equal sorrow drown'd,
Lift their dejected eyelids from the ground.
Circe beheld their guilt: she saw they fled
From vengeance hanging o'er the murd'rer's head.
The holy rites, approv'd of Jove, she pays;
Jove, thus appeas'd, his hasty vengeance stays.
These rites from guilty stains the culprits clear,
Who lowly suppliant at her cell appear.
To expiate their crime, in order due,
First to her shrine a sucking-pig she drew,
Whose nipples from its birth distended stood;
Its neck she struck, and bath'd their hands in blood.
Next, with libations meet, and pray'r, she ply'd
Jove, who acquits the suppliant homicide.
Without her door a train of Naiads stand,
Administ'ring whate'er her rites demand.
Within, the flames that round the hearth arise,
Waste, as she prays, the kneaded sacrifice;
That thus the Furies' vengeful wrath might cease,
And, Jove appeas'd, dismiss them both in peace,

do you come? why are you a suppliant to me? what man or woman have you slain?" "O king!" replied the stranger, "I am the son of Gordius, who was the son of Midas. My name is Adrastus[55]: unwillingly I have killed my brother, for which I am banished by my father, and rendered

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Whether they came to expiate the guilt
Of friends' or strangers' blood, by treach'ry spilt.
Fawkes's Apollonius Rhodius.

See also the Orestes of Euripides. I use Wodhull's translation.

In ancient days our sires this wholesome law
Enacted, that the man who had committed
An act of homicide, should ne'er appear
In public, or in social converse join.
By banishment they purged his crimes away,
But suffered not th' avenger to destroy him.

[55] *Adrastus.*]—There is a passage in Photius relative to this Adrastus, which two learned men, Palmerius and Larcher, have understood and applied very differently. The passage is this: Photius, in his Bibliotheca, giving an account of the historical work of Ptolemæus son of Hephæstion, says thus: "He also relates, that the name of the person, who, in the first book of Herodotus, is said to have been killed by Adrastus son of Gordius, was Agathon, and that it was in consequence of some dispute about a quail."

The above, and as it should seem with greater probability, Palmerius applies to the brother of Adrastus; Larcher understands it of the son of Crœsus.

With respect to the quail, some of our readers may pro-

entirely destitute." "You come," replied Crœsus, "of a family whom I esteem my friends. My protection shall, in return, be extended to you. You shall reside in my palace, and be provided with every necessary. You will do well not to suffer your misfortune to distress you too much." Crœsus then received him into his family.

XXXVI. There appeared about this time, near Olympus, in Mysia, a wild boar [56] of an extraordinary size, which, issuing from the mountain, did great injury to the Mysians. They had frequently attacked it; but their attempts to destroy it, so far from proving successful, had been attended with loss to themselves. In the extremity, therefore, of their distress, they sent to Crœsus a message of the following import: "There has appeared among us, O king! a wild boar, of a most extra-

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bably thank us for informing them, that the ancients had their quail, as the moderns have their cock-fights.—*T.*

His cocks do win the battle still of mine
When it is all to nought, and his quails ever
Beat mine inhooped at odds.—*Shakespeare.*

[56] *A wild boar.*]—It should seem, from the account of ancient authors, that the ravages of the wild boar were considered as more formidable than those of the other savage animals. The conquest of the Erymanthian boar was one of the fated labours of Hercules; and the story of the Caledonian boar is one of the most beautiful in Ovid.—*T.*

ordinary size, injuring us much; but to destroy which all our most strenuous endeavours have proved ineffectual. We entreat you, therefore, to send to us your son, at the head of a chosen band, with a number of dogs, to relieve us from this formidable animal." Crœsus, remembering his dream, answered them thus: "Of my son you must forbear to make mention: him I cannot send; he is lately married, and his time and attention sufficiently employed. But a chosen band of Lydians, hunters and dogs, shall attend you; and I shall charge them to take every possible means of relieving you, as soon as possible, from the attacks of the boar."

XXXVII. This answer of Crœsus satisfied the Mysians[57]; but the young man hearing of the matter, and that his father had refused the soli-

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[57] *Satisfied the Mysians.*]—Valla, Henry Stephens, and Gronovius, in their versions of this passage, had, quum non essent contenti. Wesseling has taken away the negative particle *.

* See also what the Abbé Geinoz has said on the subject of this negative particle, in the Memoirs of the Académie des Belles Lettres. Vol. xxiii. p. 113.

It may be here proper to inform the reader, that the Abbé Geinoz intended not only to translate Herodotus, but also to give a new edition of the text. The various remarks on our historian, which appear in the different volumes of the above-mentioned memoirs, make it appear, that the learned Frenchman was well qualified for the office. It was his in-

citations of the Mysians for him to accompany them, hastened to the presence of the king, and spoke to him as follows: "It was formerly, Sir, esteemed in our nation, both excellent and honourable to seek renown in war, or in the hunting of wild beasts; but you now deprive me of both these opportunities of signalizing myself, without having reason to accuse me either of cowardice or sloth. Whenever I now am seen in public, how mean and contemptible shall I appear! How will my fellow-citizens, or my new wife, esteem me? what can be her opinion of the man whom she has married? Suffer me, then, Sir, either to proceed on this expedition, or condescend to convince me that the motives of your refusal are reasonable and sufficient.

XXXVIII. "My son," replied Crœsus, "I do not in any respect think unfavourably of your courage, or your conduct. My behaviour to-

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tention not merely to give a translation of the original text, with the text itself, but also to examine and amend the translations of Laurentius Valla, Gronovius, and others. Unhappily for the world of literature, death took him away in the midst of his studious pursuits. His character is thus given: Il avoit tout ce qui peut assurer le succès d'une pareille entreprise, érudition, sagacité, justesse dans l'esprit, aucun du travail, zèle pour son auteur, desin ardent de se rendre utile. Mais il a manqué de temps. Nous espérons qu'il aura un continuateur. M. Larcher has most ably fulfilled what is here required.

wards you is influenced by a vision, which has lately warned me that your life will be short, and that you must perish from the wound of an iron spear. This first of all induced me to accelerate your nuptials, and also to refuse your presence in the proposed expedition, wishing, by my caution, to preserve you at least as long as I shall live. I esteem you as my only son; for your brother, on account of his infirmity, is in a manner lost to me."

XXXIX. "Having had such a vision," returned Atys to his father, "I can easily forgive your anxiety concerning me: but as you apparently misconceive the matter, suffer me to explain what seems to have escaped you. The vision, as you affirm, intimated that my death should be occasioned by the point of a spear; but what arms or spear has a wild boar, that you should dread? If, indeed, it had been told you that I was to perish by a tusk, or something of a similar nature, your conduct would have been strictly proper; but as a spear's point is the object of your alarm, and we are not going to contend with men, I hope for your permission to join this party."

XL. "Son," answered Crœsus, "your reasoning, concerning my dream, has induced me to alter my opinion, and I permit you to go to this chace."

XLI. The king then sent for Adrastus the Phrygian; whom, on his appearing, he thus addressed: "I do not mean to remind you of your former calamities; but you must have in memory, that I expiated* you in your distress, took you into my family, and supplied all your necessities. I have now, therefore, to solicit that return of kindness which my conduct claims. In this proposed hunting excursion, you must be the guardian of my son: preserve him on the way from any secret treachery, which may threaten your common security. It is consistent that you should go where bravery may be distinguished, and reputation gained: valour has been the distinction of your family, and with personal vigour has descended to yourself."

XLII. "At your request, O king!" replied Adrastus, "I shall comply with what I should otherwise have refused. It becomes not a man, like myself, oppressed by so great a calamity, to appear among my more fortunate equals: I have never wished, and I have frequently avoided it. My gratitude, in the present instance, impels me to obey your commands. I will therefore engage to accompany and guard your son, and promise, as far as my care can avail, to restore him to you safe."

* If translated literally, it should be, I purified you.

XLIII. Immediately a band of youths were selected, the dogs of chace prepared, and the train departed. Arriving in the vicinity of Olympus, they sought the beast; and having found his haunt, they surrounded it in a body, and attacked him with their spears. It so happened, that the stranger Adrastus, who had been purified for murder, directing a blow at the boar, missed his aim, and killed the son of Crœsus. Thus he was destroyed by the point of a spear*, and the vision proved to be prophetic. A messenger immediately hastened to Sardis, informing Crœsus of the event which occasioned the death of his son.

XLIV. Crœsus, much as he was afflicted with his domestic loss, bore it the less patiently, because it was inflicted by him whom he had himself puri-

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* The following singular story of a similar kind occurs in one of Mr. Pennant's entertaining volumes.

Sir Robert de Shurland, on a quarrel with his priest, buried the poor father alive: at that time it happened, that the king lay at anchor under the isle (Shepey). Sir Robert swam, on his horse, to the royal vessel, obtained his pardon, and returned to shore on his trusty steed. He then recollected that a witch had predicted he should owe his death to that horse. To render that void, he drew his sword and ungratefully put his faithful preserver to death.

Long after, passing by the spot, he saw its bones bleaching on the ground; he gave the skull a contemptuous kick; the bone wounded his foot: his foot mortified: the knight died, and the prediction was fulfilled.

fied and protected. He broke into violent complaints at his misfortune, and invoked Jupiter, the deity of expiation, in attestation of the injury he had received. He invoked him also as the guardian of hospitality and friendship[58]; of hospitality, because, in receiving a stranger, he had received the murderer of his son; of friendship, because the man whose aid he might have expected, had proved his greatest enemy.

XLV. Whilst his thoughts were thus occupied, the Lydians appeared with the body of his son[59]: the homicide followed. He advanced towards Crœsus, and, with extended hands, implored that

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58 *Guardian of hospitality and friendship.*]—Jupiter was adored under different titles, according to the place and circumstance of his worshippers.—*Larcher.*

The sky was the department of Jupiter: hence he was deemed the god of tempests. The following titles were given him: Pluvius, Pluviosus, Fulgurator, Fulgurum Effector, Descensor, Tonans. Other epithets were given him, relative to the wants of men, for which he was thought to provide. See Bos, Antiquities of Greece. The above observation is confined to the Greeks.—The epithets of the Roman Jupiter were almost without number; and there was hardly, as Spence observes, a town, or even hamlet in Italy, that had not a Jupiter of its own.—*T.*

59 *Body of his son.*]—This solemn procession of the Lydians, bearing to the presence of the father the dead body of his son, followed mournfully by the person who had killed him, would, it is presumed, afford no mean subject for an historical painting.—*T.*

he might suffer death upon the body of him whom he had slain. He recited his former calamities; to which was now to be added, that he was the destroyer of the man who had* expiated him: he was consequently no longer fit to live. Crœsus listened to him with attention; and, although oppressed by his own paternal grief, he could not refuse his compassion to Adrastus; to whom he spake as follows: "My friend, I am sufficiently revenged by your voluntary condemnation of yourself[60]. You are not guilty of this event[61], for you did it without design. The offended deity, who warned me of the evil, has accomplished it." Crœsus, therefore, buried his son with the proper ceremonies: but the unfortunate descendant of Midas, who had killed his brother and his friend, retired at the dead of night to the place where Atys was buried, and, confessing himself

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* It was in fact Crœsus who expiated Adrastus; but Larcher observes, he might have delegated this office to his son, as a compliment on his marriage.

60 *Condemnation of yourself.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that it was the first intention of Crœsus to have burned Adrastus alive; but his voluntary offer to submit to death, deprecated his anger.—*T.*

61 *You are not guilty of this event.*]—See Homer, Iliad 3d, where Priam thus addresses Helen:

No crime of thine our present suff'rings draws;
Not thou, but Heaven's disposing will, the cause.—*Pope.*

to be the most miserable of mankind, slew himself on the tomb.

XLVI. The two years which succeeded the death of his son were passed by Crœsus in extreme affliction. His grief was at length suspended by the increasing greatness of the Persian empire, as well as by that of Cyrus son of Cambyses, who had deprived Astyages, son of Cyaxares, of his dominions. To restrain the power of Persia, before it should become too great and too extensive, was the object of his solicitude. Listening to these suggestions, he determined to consult the different oracles[62] of Greece, and also that of Libya; and for this purpose he sent messengers to Delphi, the Phocian Abas, and to Dodona: he

62 *Oracles.*—On the subject of oracles, it may not be improper once for all, to inform the English reader, that the Apollo of Delphi was, to use Mr. Bayle's words, the judge without appeal; the greatest of the heathen gods not preserving, in relation to oracles, his advantage or superiority. The oracles of Trophonius, Dodona, and Hammon, had not so much credit as that of Delphi, nor did they equal it either in esteem or duration. The oracle at Abas was an oracle of Apollo; but from the little mention that is made of it by ancient writers, it does not appear to bave been held in the extremest veneration. At Dodona, as I describe it from Montfaucon, there were sounding kettles; from whence came the proverb of the Dodonean brass; which, according to Menander, if a man touched but once, would continue ringing the whole day. Others speak of the doves of Dodona, which spoke and delivered the oracles: of two

sent also to Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidæ. The above-mentioned are the oracles which Crœsus consulted in Greece: he sent also to the Libyan Ammon. His motive in these consultations, was to form an idea of the truth of the oracles respectively, meaning afterwards to obtain from them a decisive opinion concerning an expedition against the Persians.

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doves, according to Statius, one flew to Libya, to pronounce the oracles of Jupiter; the other staid at Dodona: of which the more rational explanation is, that two females established religious ceremonies at the same time, at Dodona, and in Libya; for, in the ancient language of the people of Epirus, the same word signifies a dove and an old woman. At the same place also was an oak, or, as some say, a beech tree, hallowed by the prejudices of the people, from the remotest antiquity.

The oracle of Trophonius's cave, from its singularity, deserves minuter mention. He, says Pausanias, who desired to consult it, was obliged to undergo various preparatory ceremonies, which continued for several days: he was to purify himself by various methods, to offer sacrifices to many different deities; he was then conducted by night to a neighbouring river, where he was anointed and washed; he afterwards drank of the water of forgetfulness, that his former cares might be buried; and of the water of remembrance, that he might forget nothing of what he was to see. The cave was surrounded by a wall; it resembled an oven, was four cubits wide, and eight deep: it was descended by a ladder; and he who went down carried with him cakes made of honey; when he got down, he was made acquainted with futurity. For more particulars concerning this oracle, consult Montfaucon, Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis, in which the

XLVII. He took this method of proving the truth of their different communications. He settled with his Lydian messengers, that each should consult the different oracles, on the hundredth day of their departure from Sardis, and respectively ask what Crœsus, the son of Alyattes, was doing: they were to write down, and communicate to Crœsus, the reply of each particular oracle[63]. Of the oracular answers in general we

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different descriptions of antiquity, concerning this and other oracles, are collected and methodized. See also Van Dale. Of the above, a classical and correct description may also be found in Glover's Athenaid.

Amphiaraus was one of the seven warriors who fought against Thebes: he performed on that occasion the functions of a priest, and was supposed, on that account, to communicate oracles after his death. They who consulted him, were to abstain from wine for three days, and from all nourishment for twenty-four hours. They then sacrificed a ram before his statue; upon the skin of which, spread in the vestibule, they retired to sleep. The deity was supposed to appear to them in a vision, and answer their questions.

The temple of Branchidæ was afterwards, according to Pliny, named the temple of the Didymean Apollo. It was burned by Xerxes, but afterwards rebuilt with such extraordinary magnificence, that, according to Vitruvius, it was one of the four edifices which rendered the names of their architects immortal. Some account may be found of this temple in Chishull's Asiatic Antiquities.—*T.*

63 *Reply of each particular oracle.*]—Lucian makes Jupiter complain of the great trouble the deities undergo on account of mankind. "As for Apollo," says he, "he has undertaken

have no account remaining; but the Lydians had no sooner entered the temple of Delphi, and proposed their questions, than the Pythian[64] answered thus, in heroic verse:

I count the sand, I measure out the sea;
The silent and the dumb are heard by me:
E'en now the odours* to my sense that rise,
A tortoise boiling with a lamb supplies,
Where brass below and brass above it lies.

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a troublesome office: he is obliged to be at Delphi this minute, at Colophon the next, here at Delos, there at Branchidæ, just as his ministers choose to require him: not to mention the tricks which are played to make trial of his sagacity, when people boil together the flesh of a lamb and a tortoise; so that if he had not had a very acute nose, Crœsus would have gone away, and abused him."—*T.*

64 *Pythian.*]—The Pythian Apollo, if we may credit the Greeks themselves, was not always upon the best terms with the Muses.—*Lowth on the poetry of the Hebrews.*

Van Dale, in his book de Oraculis, observes, that at Delphi the priestess had priests, prophets, and poets, to take down and explain and mend her gibberish: which served to justify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verses; for, if they were defective, the fault was laid upon the amanuensis.—*Jortin.*

In the notes of Hemsterhusius, editor of Lucian, the Lydian is interpreted Midas, but it evidently alludes to this anecdote, and to Crœsus. See Tertullian also, Apolog. c. 22.

* In oraculis autem quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus sciunt Crœsi, sciunt Pyrrhi. Cæterum testitudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renuntiavit quo supra diximus; momento apud Lydiam fuerat.

XLVIII. They wrote down the communication of the Pythian, and returned to Sardis. Of the answers which his other messengers brought on their return, Crœsus found none which were satisfactory. But a fervour of gratitude and piety was excited in him, as soon as he was informed of the reply of the Pythian; and he exclaimed, without reserve, that there was no true oracle but at Delphi, for this alone had explained his employment at the stipulated time. It seems, that on the day appointed for his servants to consult the different oracles, determining to do what it would be equally difficult to discover or explain, he had cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass.

XLIX. I have before related what was the answer of the Delphic oracle to Crœsus: what reply the Lydians received from Amphiaraus, after the usual religious ceremonies, I am not able to affirm; of this it is only asserted, that its answer was satisfactory to Crœsus.

L. Crœsus, after these things, determined to conciliate the divinity of Delphi, by a great and magnificent sacrifice. He offered up three thousand chosen victims[65]; he collected a great num-

[65]. *Three thousand chosen victims.*]—This appears to be a prodigious number; but, as Larcher observes, Theodoret

ber of couches decorated with gold and silver[66], many goblets of gold, and vests of purple; all these he consumed together upon one immense pile, thinking by these means to render the deity more auspicious to his hopes: he persuaded his subjects also to offer up, in like manner, the proper objects for sacrifice they respectively possessed. As, at the conclusion of the above ceremony, a considerable quantity of gold had run together, he formed of it a number of* tiles. The larger of these were

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reproaches the Greeks with their sacrifices of hundreds of thousands.

See the account of Solomon's sacrifice, 2 Chron. vii. 5. the magnificence of which is beyond all parallel.

Then the king and all the people offered sacrifices before the Lord.

And king Solomon offered a sacrifice of twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep.

66 *Couches decorated with gold and silver.*]—Prodigal as the munificence of Crœsus appears to have been on this occasion, the funeral pile of the Emperor Severus, as described by Herodian, was neither less splendid nor less costly. He tells us, that there was not a province, city, or grandee throughout the wide circuit of the Roman Empire, that did not contribute to decorate this superb edifice. When the whole was completed, after many days of preparatory ceremonies, the next successor to the empire, with a torch, set fire to the pile, and in a little time every thing was consumed.—*T.*

* In the Book of Numbers, ch. xvi. we find that in the rebellion of Korah, two hundred and fifty men, who were in the act of offering incense, were consumed by fire. Aaron was ordered to take the censers of these men, and make of them a broad plate for the covering of the altar.

six palms long, the smaller three, but none of them were less than a palm in thickness, and they were one hundred and seventeen in number: four were of the purest gold, weighing each one talent and a half; the rest were of inferior quality, but of the weight of two talents. He constructed also a lion of pure gold[67], which weighed ten talents. It was originally placed in the Delphian temple, on the above gold tiles; but when this edifice was burned, it fell from its place, and now stands in the Corinthian treasury: it lost, however, by the fire, three talents and a half of its former weight.

LI. Crœsus, moreover, sent to Delphi two large cisterns, one of gold, and one of silver: that of gold was placed on the right hand, in the vestibule of the temple; the silver one was placed on the left. These also were removed when the temple was consumed by fire: the golden goblet weighed

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Speak unto Eleazer, the son of Aaron the priest, that he take up the censers out of the burning, and scatter thou the fire yonder; for they are hallowed.

The censers of the sinners against their own souls, let them make them broad plates for a covering of the altar.

The censers had probably run together, and the similarity is very striking.

67 *Lion of pure gold.*]—These tiles, this lion, and the statue of the bread-maker of Crœsus, were all of them, at a subsequent period, seized by the Phocians, to defray the expences of the holy war.—*Larcher.*

eight talents and a half and twelve minæ, and was afterwards placed in the Clazomenian treasury: that of silver is capable of holding six hundred amphoræ; it is placed at the entrance of the temple, and used by the inhabitants of Delphi in their Theophanian festival: they assert it to have been the work of Theodorus of Samos[68]; to which opinion, as it is evidently the production of no mean artist, I am inclined to accede. The Corinthian treasury also possesses four silver casks, which were sent by Crœsus, in addition to the above, to Delphi. His munificence did not yet cease: he presented also two basons, one of gold, another of silver. An inscription on that of gold asserts it to have been the gift of the Lacedæmonians; but it is not true, for this also was the gift of Crœsus. To gratify the Lacedæmonians, a certain Delphian wrote this inscription: I know his name, but forbear to disclose it[69]. The boy through whose hand the water flows, was given by the La-

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68 *Theodorus of Samos.*]—He was the first statuary on record. The following mention is made of him by Pliny:—Theodorus, who constructed the labyrinth at Samos, made a cast of himself in brass, which, independent of its being a perfect likeness, was an extraordinary effort of genius. He had in his right hand a file; with three fingers of his left he held a carriage drawn by four horses; the carriage, the horses, and the driver, were so minute, that the whole was covered by the wings of a fly.—*T.*

69 *I know his name, but forbear to disclose it.*]—If Ptolemæus in Photius may be credited, his name was Æthus.—*T.*

cedæmonians; the basons undoubtedly were not.—Many other smaller presents accompanied these; among which were some silver dishes, and the figure of a woman in gold, three cubits high, who, according to the Delphians, was the person who made bread for the family of Crœsus[70]. This prince, besides all that we have enumerated, consecrated at Delphi his wife's necklaces and girdles.

LII. To Amphiaraus, having heard of his valour and misfortunes, he sent a shield of solid gold, with a strong spear made entirely of gold, both shaft and head. These were all, within my memory, preserved at Thebes, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo.

LIII. The Lydians, who were intrusted with the care of these presents, were directed to enquire whether Crœsus might auspiciously under-

70 *Made bread for the family of Crœsus.*]—Crœsus, says Plutarch, honoured the woman who made his bread, with a statue of gold, from an honest emotion of gratitude. Alyattes, the father of Crœsus, married a second wife, by whom he had other children. This woman wished to remove Crœsus out of the way, and gave the female baker a dose of poison, charging her to put it into the bread which she made for Crœsus. The woman informed Crœsus of this, and gave the poisoned bread to the queen's children. By these means Crœsus succeeded his father; and acknowledged the fidelity of the woman, by thus making the god himself an evidence of his gratitude.—*T.*

take an expedition against the Persians, and whether he should procure any confederate assistance. On their arrival at the destined places, they deposited their presents, and made their enquiries of the oracles precisely in the following terms:— "Crœsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, esteems these the only genuine oracles; in return for the sagacity which has marked your declarations, he sends these proofs of his liberality; he finally desires to know whether he may proceed against the Persians, and whether he should require the assistance of allies." The answers of the oracles tended to the same purpose; both of them assuring Crœsus, that if he prosecuted a war with Persia, he should overthrow a mighty empire[71]; and both recommended him to form an alliance with the most powerful states of Greece.

LIV. The report of these communications transported Crœsus with excess of joy: elated with the idea of becoming the conqueror of Cyrus, he sent again to Delphi, enquired the number of inhabitants there, and presented each with two golden

[71] *Overthrow a mighty empire.*]—It appears, that the very words of the oracle must have been here originally: they are preserved by Suidas and others, and are these:

Κροισος Αλυν διαβας μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει: which Cicero renders—

Crœsus, Halym penetrans, magnam pervertet opum vim.
De Div. xi. 56.

By crossing Halys, Crœsus will destroy a mighty power.—*T.*

staters*. In acknowledgment for his liberality, the Delphians assigned to Crœsus and the Lydians the privilege of first consulting the oracle, in preference to other nations; a distinguished seat in their temple; together with the immutable right, to such of them as pleased to accept it, of being enrolled among the citizens of Delphi.

LV. After the above-mentioned marks of his munificence to the Delphians, Crœsus consulted their oracle a third time. His experience of its veracity increased the ardour of his curiosity; he was now anxious to be informed whether his power would be perpetual. The following was the answer of the Pythian:

When o'er the Medes a mule shall sit on high,
O'er pebbly Hermus[72] then, soft Lydian, fly;
Fly with all haste; for safety scorn thy fame,
Nor scruple to deserve a coward's name.

LVI. When the above verses were communicated to Crœsus, he was more delighted than ever;

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* There was both a silver and a gold coin of this name. The silver weighed four Attic drachms, and was worth about three shillings and a penny. The gold Attic stater was equal to twenty drachms, or fifteen shillings and five pence.

[72] *O'er pebbly Hermus*, &c.]—It has been usually translated *Fly to Hermus:* but παρ' Ερμον certainly means *trans Hermum;* and when said to a Lydian, implies, that he should desert his country.—*T.*

confident that a mule would never be sovereign of the Medes, and that consequently he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity. His first object was to discover which were the most powerful of the Grecian states, and to obtain their alliance. The Lacedæmonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, seemed to claim his distinguished preference. These nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellation of Pelasgians and Hellenians[73]. The former had never changed their place of residence; the latter often. Under the reign of Deucalion, the Hellenians possessed the region of Phthiotis; but under Dorus the son of Hellenus, they inhabited the country called Istiæotis, which borders upon Ossa and Olympus. They were driven from hence by the Cadmæans, and fixed themselves in Macednum, near mount Pindus: migrating from thence to Dryopis, and afterwards to the Peloponnesus, they were known by the name of Dorians.

LVII. What language the Pelasgians used, I cannot positively affirm: some probable conclusion may perhaps be formed, by attending to the dialect of the remnant of the Pelasgians, who now

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[73] *Pelasgians and Hellenians.*]—On this passage Mr. Bryant remarks, that the whole is exceedingly confused, and that by it one would imagine Herodotus excluded the Athenians from being Pelasgic. See Bryant's Mythology, vol. iii. p. 397.—*T.*

inhabit Crestona[74] beyond the Tyrrhenians*, but who formerly dwelt in the country now called Thessaliotis, and were neighbours to those whom we at present name Dorians. Considering these with the above, who founded the cities of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, but once lived near the Athenians†, together with the people of other Pelasgian towns who have since changed their names, it is upon the whole reasonable to affirm, that they formerly spoke a barbarous language. The Athenians, therefore, who were also of Pelasgian origin, must necessarily, when they came amongst the Hellenians, have learned their language. It is observable, that the inhabitants of Crestona and Placia speak in the same tongue, but are neither of them understood by the

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[74] *Crestona.*]—It appears that Count Caylus has confounded Crestona of Thrace with Crotona of Magna Grecia; but as he has adduced no argument in proof of his opinion, I do not consider it of any importance.—*Larcher.*

* Major Rennel thinks that this may be a mistake, and that it should be read Thermæans.—See his work on Herodotus, p. 45.

"It may be suspected that Tyrrhenian is a mistake, and that Thermæan should be substituted for it, as Therma, afterwards Thessalonia, agrees to the situation. Therma and its gulf are mentioned in Polym. 121, 123, 124. We have heard of no Tyrrhenians but those of Italy."

† We are informed in the 6th book, c. 137, that the Athenians expelled them from their habitations, because they offered violence to the young women who went to draw water at the nine fountains.

people about them. These circumstances induce me to believe, that their language has experienced no change.

LVIII. I am also of opinion, that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered. When first they separated themselves from the Pelasgians, they were neither numerous nor powerful. They have since progressively increased; having incorporated many nations, Barbarians and others, with their own. The Pelasgians have always avoided this mode of increasing their importance; which may be one reason, probably, why they never have emerged from their original and barbarous condition.

LIX. Of these nations, Crœsus had received information, that Athens suffered much from the oppression of Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates, who at this time possessed the supreme authority. The father of this man, when he was formerly a private spectator of the Olympic games, beheld a wonderful prodigy: Having sacrificed a victim, the brazen vessels, which were filled with the flesh and with water, boiled up and overflowed without the intervention of fire. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, who was an accidental witness of the fact, advised Hippocrates, first of all, not to marry a woman likely to produce him children: secondly, if he was already married, to repudiate his wife; but if he had then a son, by all means to expose

him. Hippocrates was not at all disposed to follow this counsel, and had afterwards this son Pisistratus. A tumult happened betwixt those who dwelt on the sea-coast, and those who inhabited the plains: of the former, Megacles the son of Alcmeon was leader, Lycurgus, son of Aristolaides, was at the head of the latter. Pisistratus took this opportunity of accomplishing the views of his ambition. Under pretence of defending those of the mountains, he assembled some factious adherents, and put in practice the following stratagem: He not only wounded himself, but his mules[75], which he drove into the forum, affecting to have made his escape from the enemy, who had attacked him in a country excursion. He claimed therefore, the protection of the people, in return for the services which he had performed in his command against the Megarians[76], by his capture

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[75] *Wounded himself, but his mules.*]—Ulysses, Zopyrus, and others, availed themselves of similar artifices for the advantage of their country; but Pisistratus practised his, to depress and enslave his fellow-citizens. This occasioned Solon to say to him, "Son of Hippocrates, you ill apply the stratagem of Homer's Ulysses: he wounded his body, to delude the public enemies; you wound your's, to beguile your countrymen."—*Larcher.*

[76] *Command against the Megarians.*]—The particulars of this affair are related by Plutarch, in his life of Solon.—*T.*

When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war against the Megarensians for the isle of Salamis, made a

of Nisæa, and by other memorable exploits. The Athenians were deluded by his artifice, and as-

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law that no one for the future, under pain of death, should, either by speech or writing, propose that the city should assert its claims to that island, Solon was very uneasy at so dishonourable a decree, and seeing a great part of the youth desirous to begin the war again, being restrained from it only by fear of the law, he feigned himself insane; and a report spread from his house into the city, that he was out of his senses. Privately, however, he had composed an elegy, and got it by heart in order to repeat it in public; thus prepared, he sallied out unexpectedly into the market-place with a cap upon his head. A great number of people flocking about him there, he got upon the herald's stone, and sung the elegy, which begins thus—

Hear and attend: from Salamis I came
To shew your error - - - -

This composition is entitled *Salamis*, and consists of an hundred very beautiful lines. When Solon had done, his friends began to express their admiration, and Pisistratus, in particular, exerted himself in persuading the people to comply with his directions, whereupon they repealed the law, once more undertook the war, and invested Solon with the command. The common account of his proceedings is this: he sailed with Pisistratus to Colias, and having seized the women, who, according to the custom of the country, were offering sacrifice to Ceres there, he sent a trusty person to Salamis, who was to pretend he was a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they had a mind to seize the principal Athenian nations, to set sail immediately for Colias. The Megarensians readily embracing the proposal, and sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island, and causing the women directly to withdraw, ordered a number of young men whose faces were yet smooth,

signed some of their chosen citizens as his guard[77], armed with clubs, instead of spears. These seconded the purpose of Pisistratus, and seized the citadel. He thus obtained the supreme power; but he neither changed the magistrates nor altered the laws: he suffered every thing to be conducted in its ordinary course; and his government was alike honourable to himself[78] and useful to the

to dress themselves in their habits, caps, and shoes. Thus with weapons concealed under their clothes, they were to dance and play by the sea-side, till the enemy was landed, and the vessel near enough to be seized. Matters being thus ordered, the Megarensians were deceived with the appearance, and ran confusedly on shore, striving which should first lay hold on the women. But they met with so warm a reception, that they were cut off to a man, and the Athenians embarking immediately for Salamis, took possession of the island.

[77] *As his guard.*]—The people being assembled to deliberate on the ambuscade which Pisistratus pretended was concerted against him, assigned him fifty guards for the security of his person. Ariston proposed the decree; but when it was once passed, the people acquiesced in his taking just as many guards as he thought proper. Solon, in a letter to Epimenides, preserved in Diogenes Laertius, but which seems to be spurious, says, that Pisistratus required four hundred guards; which, notwithstanding Solon's remonstrances, were granted him. Polyænus says they assigned him three hundred.—*Larcher.* A similar stratagem was executed by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, and with similar success. The account is given at length by Diodorus Siculus, book 21 and 95.

[78] *Honourable to himself.*]—Pisistratus, says Plutarch, was not only observant of the laws of Solon himself, but obliged

city. The factions of Megacles and Lycurgus afterwards united, and expelled him from Athens.

LX. By these means Pisistratus became for the first time master of Athens, and obtained an authority which was far from being secure.

The parties, however, which effected his expulsion, presently disagreed. Megacles, being hard pressed by his opponent, sent proposals to Pisistratus, offering him the supreme power, on condition of his marrying his daughter. Pisistratus acceded to the terms; and a method was concerted to accomplish his return, which to me seems exceedingly preposterous. The Grecians, from the remotest times, were distinguished from the Barbarians by their acuteness; and the Athenians, upon whom this trick was played, were of all the Greeks the most eminent for their sagacity. There was a Pæanian woman, whose name was Phya[79]; she wanted but three digits of being four cubits high, and was, moreover, remarkably beautiful. She was dressed in a suit of armour, placed in a chariot, and decorated with the greatest possible splendour. She was conducted towards the city;

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his adherents to be so too. Whilst in the enjoyment of the supreme authority, he was summoned before the Areopagus, to answer for the crime of murder. He appeared with modesty to plead his cause. His accuser did not think proper to appear. The same fact is related by Aristotle.—*Larcher.*

79 *Phya.*]—There is here great appearance of fiction. Phya means air, or personal courage.

Ειδος τε, μεγεθος τε, φυην τ' αγχιστα εοικως. Il. 2d.—*T.*

heralds were sent before, who, as soon as they arrived within *the walls of Athens, were instructed to exclaim aloud—"Athenians, receive Pisistratus again, and with good will; he is the great favourite of Minerva, and the goddess herself comes to conduct him to her citadel." The rumour soon spread amongst the multitude, that Minerva was bringing back Pisistratus. Those in the city being told that this woman was their goddess, prostrated themselves before her, and admitted Pisistratus [80].

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* This farce brings to recollection the equally foolish and atrocious one which was played at Paris by Robespierre and his monstrous gang. In the festival of the Goddess of Liberty, a beautiful courtezan was chosen to represent the goddess, and conducted in a triumphal car, with ceremonies similar to what are here described, to the church of Notre Dame. Not very unlike this also, is the following extract from one of Gray's Letters to Mr. West:—

"In the mean time, to employ the minds of the populace, the government has thought fit to bring into the city, in a solemn manner, and at a great expence, a famous statue of the Virgin, called the Madonna del Impruneta, from the place of her residence, which is upon a mountain seven miles off. It has never been practised but in times of public calamity, and † was done at present to avert the ill effects of a late great inundation, which it was feared might cause some epidemical distemper. It was introduced a fortnight since in procession, attended by the Council of Regency, the Senate, the Nobility, and all the religious orders, on foot, and bareheaded, and so carried to the great church, where it was frequented by an infinite concourse of people from all the country round."

† Was done at present, is not English, and is an oversight of which it is surprising that Gray should be guilty.

80 *Admitted Pisistratus.*]—The ambitious in all ages have

LXI. By these means the son of Hippocrates recovered his authority, and fulfilled the terms of his agreement with Megacles, by marrying his daughter[81]. But, as he had already sons grown up, and as the Alcmæonides were stigmatized by some imputed contamination[82], to avoid having children by this marriage, he refused all natural communication with his wife. This incident, which the woman for a certain time concealed, she afterwards revealed to her mother, in consequence, perhaps, of her enquiries. The father was soon informed of it, who, exasperated by the affront, forgot his ancient resentments, and entered into a league with those, whom he had formerly opposed. Pisistratus, seeing the danger which menaced him, hastily left the country, and, retiring to Eretria[83], there deliberated with his sons concerning their future conduct. The sen-

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made religion an instrument of their designs, and the people, naturally superstitious and weak, have always been the dupes.—*Larcher.*

[81] *By marrying his daughter.*]—Her name was Cæsyra, as appears from the Scholiast to the Nubes of Aristophanes.—*Palmerius.*

[82] *Imputed contamination.*]—Megacles, who was Archon in the time of the conspiracy of Cylon, put the conspirators to death, at the foot of the altars where they had taken refuge. All those who had any concern in the perpetration of murder were considered as detestable.—*Larcher.*

[83] *Retiring to Eretria.*]—There were two places of this name, one in Thessaly, the other in Eubœa: Pisistratus retired to the latter.

timents of Hippias, which were for attempting the recovery of their dignity, prevailed. They met with no difficulty in procuring assistance from the neighbouring states, amongst whom a prejudice in their favour generally existed. Many cities assisted them largely with money; but the Thebans were particularly liberal. Not to protract the narration, every preparation was made to facilitate their return. A band of Argive mercenaries came from the Peloponnese; and an inhabitant of Naxos, named Lygdamis, give new alacrity to their proceedings, by his unsolicited assistance both with money and with troops.

LXII. After an absence of eleven years, they advanced to Attica from Eretria, and seized on Marathon, in the vicinity of which, they encamped. They were soon visited by throngs of factious citizens[84] from Athens, and by all those

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[84] *Factious citizens.*]—The whole account given by Herodotus, of the conduct of Pisistratus and his party, bears no small resemblance to many circumstances of the Catilinarian conspirators, as described by Cicero and others. Two or three instances are nevertheless recorded, of the moderation of Pisistratus, which well deserve our praise. His daughter assisted at some religious festival: a young man, who violently loved her, embraced her publicly, and afterwards endeavoured to carry her off. His friends excited him to vengeance. "If," said he in reply, "we hate those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?"—Some young men, in a drunken frolic, insulted his wife. The next day

who preferred *tyranny to freedom. Their number was thus soon and considerably increased. Whilst Pisistratus was providing himself with money, and even when he was stationed at Marathon, the Athenians of the city appeared to be under no alarm: but when they heard that he had left his post, and was advancing towards them, they began to assemble their forces, and to think of obstructing his return. Pisistratus continued to approach, with his men, in one collected body: he halted at the temple of the Pallenian† Minerva, opposite to which he fixed his camp. Whilst he remained in this situation, Amphylutus, a priest of Acarnania, approached him, and, as if by divine inspiration[85], thus addressed him in heroic verse:

The cast is made; the net secures the way;
And night's pale gleams will bring the scaly prey.

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they came in tears, to solicit forgiveness. "You must have been mistaken," said Pisistratus; "my wife did not go abroad yesterday."—*T.*

* As this is the first time the word tyranny occurs, it may be necessary to inform the English reader, that in its literal sense it means the government of one person, that is, a monarchy.

† Pallene was the name of a village in Attica, and was famous for the residence of the Pallantides, the fifty sons of Pallas, who were all killed by Theseus, when he came to take possession of his paternal inheritance. See Plutarch's Life of Theseus.

85 In the sacred processions in early times the deity used to be carried about in a shrine, which circumstance was

LXIII. Pisistratus considered the declaration as prophetic, and prepared his troops accordingly. The Athenians of the city were then engaged at their dinner; after which, they retired to the amusement of dice, or to sleep[86]. The party of Pisistratus, then making the attack, soon com-

always attended with shouts and exclamations, and the whole was accompanied with a great concourse of people. The ancient Greeks styled these celebrities the procession of the P'Omphi, and from hence were derived the words πομπη and pompa. These originally related to a procession of the oracles, but were afterwards made use of to describe any cavalcade or show. In the time of Herodotus the word seems, in some degree, to have retained its true meaning, being by him used for the oracular influence. He informs us that Amphylutus was a diviner of Acarnan, and that he came to Pisistratus with a commission from heaven. By this he induced that prince to prosecute a scheme which he recommended.—*Bryant.*

[86] *To sleep.*]—In all the warmer climates of the globe, the custom of sleeping after dinner is invariably preserved. It appears from modern travellers, that many of the present inhabitants of Athens have their houses flat-roofed, and decorated with arbours, in which they sleep at noon. We are informed, as well by Herodotus, as by Demosthenes, Theophrastus, and Xenophon, that, anciently, the Athenians in general, as well citizens as soldiers, took only two repasts in the day. The meaner sort were satisfied with one, which some took at noon, others at sun-set.

The following passage from Horace not only proves the intimacy which prevailed betwixt Mæcenas, Virgil, and Horace, but satisfies us, that at a much later period, and in the most refined state of the Roman empire, the mode of spending the time after dinner was similar to that here mentioned:

Lusum it Mæcenas, dormitum ego Virgiliusque.

Sermon. lib. i. 5.

pelled them to fly. Pisistratus, in the course of the pursuit, put in execution the following sagacious stratagem, to continue their confusion, and prevent their rallying: he placed his sons on horseback, and directed them to overtake the fugitives; they were commissioned to bid them remove their apprehensions, and pursue their usual employments.

LXIV. The Athenians took him at his word, and Pisistratus thus became a third time master of Athens[87]. He by no means neglected to secure his authority, by retaining many confederate troops, and providing pecuniary resources, partly from Attica itself, and partly from the river Strymon[88].

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[87] *Third time master of Athens.*]—Pisistratus, tyrant as he was, loved letters, and favoured those who cultivated them. He it was who first collected Homer's works, and presented the public with the Iliad and Odyssey in their present form.—*Bellanger.*

Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, subsequent to the battle of Pharsalia, thus expresses himself: "We are not yet certain whether we shall groan under a Phalaris, or enjoy ourselves under a Pisistratus."—*T.*

[88] *River Strymon.*]—This river is very celebrated in classical story: there are few of the ancient writers who have not made mention of it; at the present day it is called, at that part where it empties itself into the Ægean, Golfo di Contessa. Upon the banks of this river, Virgil beautifully describes Orpheus to have lamented his Eurydice. Amongst the other rivers memorable in antiquity for their production of gold, were the Pactolus, Hermus, Ganges, Tagus, Iber, Indus, and Arimaspus.—*T.*

The children of those citizens, who, instead of retreating from his arms, had opposed his progress, he took as hostages, and sent to the island of Naxos; which place he had before subdued, and given up to Lygdamis. In compliance also with an oracular injunction, he purified Delos[89]: all the dead bodies, which lay within a certain distance of the temple, were, by his orders, dug up, and removed to another part of the island. By the death of some of the Athenians in battle, and by the flight of others with the Alcmæonides, he remained in undisturbed possession of the supreme authority*.

LXV. Such was the intelligence which Crœsus received concerning the situation of Athens. With

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89 *Purified Delos.*] — Montfaucon says, that the whole island of Delos was consecrated by the birth of Apollo and Diana, and that it was not allowable to bury a dead body in any part of it. It should seem from the passage before us, that this must be understood with some restriction. *T.*— Montfaucon's authority is Thucydides, iii. p. 359. Strabo, x. p. 436. Spanheim's notes on the hymn of Callimachus in Delos, p. 320.

* The following inscription was engraven on the statue of Pisistratus, at Athens:

"Twice I have been sovereign, twice have the people of Athens expelled, and twice have they recalled me. I am that Pisistratus, wise in council, who collected the scattered books of Homer which were before sung in detached pieces. That great poet was our fellow citizen, for we Athenians founded Smyrna." See the Analecta Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. iii. p. 216.

respect to the Lacedæmonians, after suffering many important defeats, they had finally vanquished the Tegeans. Whilst Sparta was under the government of Leon and Hegesicles*, the Lacedæmonians, successful in other contests, had been inferior to the Tegeans alone: of all the Grecian states, they had formerly the worst laws; bad with regard to their own internal government, and intolerable to strangers. They obtained good laws, by means of the following circumstance: Lycurgus[90], a man of distinguished character at Sparta, happened to visit the Delphic

* Herodotus writes Hegesicles, which is agreeable to the Ionian dialect; but Pausanias and the Attic writers call it Agasicles.—*Larcher.*

90 *Lycurgus.*]—For an account of the life and character of Lycurgus, we refer the reader, once for all, to Plutarch. His institutes are admirably collected and described by the Abbé Barthelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. iv. 110. *T.*—The life of Lycurgus was the first which Plutarch published, as he himself observes in the life of Theseus. He seems to have had a strong attachment to the Spartans and their customs, as Xenophon likewise had. For, besides this life, and those of several other Spartan chiefs, we have a treatise of his on the laws and customs of the Lacedæmonians, and another of laconic apophthegms. He makes Lycurgus in all things a perfect hero, and alleges his behaviour as a proof that the wise man, so often described by the philosophers, was not a mere ideal character, unattainable by human nature. It is certain, however, that the encomiums bestowed upon him and his laws, by the Delphic oracle, were merely a contrivance between the Pythoness and himself; and some of his laws, for instance, that concerning the women, were exceptionable.—*Langhorne.*

oracle. As soon as he had entered the vestibule, the Pythian exclaimed aloud,

Thou com'st, Lycurgus, to this honour'd shrine,
Favour'd by Jove, and ev'ry pow'r divine.
Or god or mortal! how shall I decide?
Doubtless to heav'n most dear and most allied.

It is farther asserted by some, that the priestess dictated to him those institutes, which are now observed at Sparta: but the Lacedæmonians themselves affirm, that Lycurgus brought them from Crete, while he was guardian to his nephew Leobotas, king of Sparta. In consequence of this trust, having obtained the direction of the legislature, he made a total change in the constitution, and took effectual care to secure a strict observance[91] of whatever he introduced: he new-modelled the military code, appointing the Enomatiæ, the Triacades, and the Syssitia; he instituted also the Ephori[92] and the senate.*

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91 *Strict observance.*]—There were some Lacedæmonians who, deeming the laws of Lycurgus too severe, chose rather to leave their country than submit to them. These passed over to the Sabines in Italy; and when these people were incorporated with the Romans, communicated to them a portion of their Lacedæmonian manners.—*Larcher.*

92 The glossary at the end of Wesseling's edition explains the Enomatia to be an order in tactics among the Athenians. See Thucydides, v. p. 359. Xenophon. Laced. Pol. chap. xi. The Triacadæ and the Syssitia, were a public supper of a certain number. This is the substance of Larcher's long and

[* For this reference, see page 108.]

LXVI. The manners of the people became thus more polished and improved: after his death,

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elaborate note on this subject; upon which also the reader may consult Cragius.

The following account of the Ephori, as collected and compressed from the ancient Greek writers, is given from the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis:

"Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and Dion Chrysostom, were of opinion, that the Ephori were first instituted by Theopompus, who reigned almost a hundred years after the time of Lycurgus. Herodotus, Plato, and another ancient author named Satyrus, ascribe the institution to Lycurgus. The Ephori were an intermediate body betwixt the kings and the senate. They were called Ephori, or inspectors, because their attention was extended to every part of the machine of government. They were five in number; and, to prevent any abuse of their authority, they were chosen annually by the people, the defenders of whose rights they were. They superintended the education of the youth. Every day they appeared in public, to decide causes, to arbitrate differences, and to prevent the introduction of any thing which might tend to the corruption of youth. They could oblige magistrates to render an account of their administration; they might even suspend them from their functions, and drag them to prison. The kings themselves were compelled to obey the third summons to appear before the Ephori and answer for any imputed fault. The whole executive power was vested in their hands: they received foreign ambassadors, levied troops, and gave the general his orders, whom they could recall at pleasure. So many privileges secured them a veneration, which they justified from the rewards they bestowed on merit, by their attachment to ancient maxims, and by the firmness with which, on several occasions, they broke the force of conspiracies, which menaced the tranquillity of the state."—*T.*

they revered Lycurgus as a divinity, and erected a sacred edifice to his memory[93]. From this period, having a good and populous territory, they rapidly rose to prosperity and power. Dissatis-

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* Lycurgus having remarked that the Princes of his family who reigned at Argos and Messina, had degenerated into tyrants, and that in ruining their states, they had destroyed themselves, fearing the same catastrophe for his owm city, instituted the senate and the Ephori, as a salutary counterpoise to the royal authority. The senators were twenty-eight in number. Lycurgus also instituted Knights at Sparta, upon the model of the Equestrian order in Crete, with this difference, that the Knights of Crete had horses, those of Sparta, none.—*Larcher.*

It is the opinion of Strabo, that there is so great a resemblance between the laws of Minos and Lycurgus, that the latter must necessarily have borrowed his ideas on this subject from the former. Lycurgus endeavoured to persuade the Spartans that he was prompted by Apollo; so did Minos the Cretans, that he received his laws from Jupiter.

93 *To his memory.*]—The Lacedæmonians having bound themselves by an oath not to abrogate any of the laws of Lycurgus before his return to Sparta, the legislator went to consult the oracle at Sparta. He was told by the Pythian, that Sparta would be happy, as long as his laws were observed. Upon this he resolved to return no more, that he might thus be secure of the observance of these institutions, to which they were so solemnly bound: he went to Crisa, and there slew himself. The Lacedæmonians, hearing of this, in testimony of his former virtue, as well as of that which he discovered in his death, erected to him a temple, with an altar, at which they annually offered to sacrifice to his honour, as to a hero. The above fact is mentioned both by Pausanias and Plutarch.—*Larcher.*

fied with the language and inactivity of peace, and conceiving themselves in all respects superior to the Tegeans, they sent to consult the oracle concerning the entire conquest of Arcadia. The Pythian thus answered them:

Ask ye Arcadia? 'tis a bold demand;
A rough and hardy race defend the land;
Repuls'd by them, one only boon you gain,
With frequent foot to dance on Tegea's plain,
And o'er her fields the measuring-cord to strain.

No sooner had the Lacedæmonians received this reply, than, leaving the other parts of Arcadia unmolested, they proceeded to attack the Tegeans, carrying a quantity of fetters with them. They relied upon the evasive declaration of the oracle, and imagined that they should infallibly reduce the Tegeans to servitude. They engaged them, and were defeated[94]: as many as were taken captive, were loaded with the fetters which themselves had brought, and thus employed in laborious service in the fields of the Tegeans. These chains were preserved, even in my remembrance, in

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94 *Were defeated.*]—This incident happened during the reign of Charillus. The women of Tegea took up arms, and, placing themselves in ambuscade at the foot of mount Phylactris, they rushed upon the Lacedæmonians, who were already engaged with the Tegeans, and put them to flight. The above is from Pausanias. *Larcher.*—Polyænus relates the same fact.

Tegea, suspended round the temple of the Alcan Minerva [95].

LXVII. In the beginning of their contests with the Tegeans, they were uniformly unsuccessful: but in the time of Crœsus, when Anaxandrides and Ariston had the government of Sparta, they experienced a favourable change of fortune; which is thus to be explained:

Having repeatedly been defeated by the Tegeans, they sent to consult the Delphic oracle, what particular deity they had to appease, to become victorious over their adversaries. The Pythian assured them of success, if they brought back the body of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. Unable to discover his tomb, they sent a second time, to enquire concerning the place of his inter-

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95 *Temple of the Alcan Minerva.*]—This custom of suspending in sacred buildings the spoils taken from the enemy, commencing in the most remote and barbarous ages, has been continued to the present period. See Samuel, book ii. chap. 8. "And David took the shields of gold which were on the servants of Hadadezer, and brought them to Jerusalem; which king David did dedicate unto the Lord, with the silver and gold of all nations which he subdued."

These fetters taken from the Lacedæmonians were seen also in this temple in the time of Pausanias.—It is usual too with the moderns, to suspend in churches the colours taken from the enemy.—*T.*

ment. The following was the oracular communication:

A plain[96] within the Arcadian land I know,
Where double winds with forc'd exertion blow,
Where form to form with mutual strength replies,
And ill by other ills supported lies:
That earth contains the great Atrides' son;
Take him, and conquer: Tegea then is won.

After the above, the search for the body was without intermission continued: it was at length discovered by Lichas[97], one of those Spartans distinguished by the name of Agathoërgoi*; which title was usually conferred, after a long period of

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[96] *A plain, &c.*]—Επιταῤῥοθος is singularly used here: it means, I presume, "then you may have to defend Tegea, having by victory become proprietor of it."—*T.*

[97] *Discovered by Lichas.*]—In honour of this Lichas the Lacedæmonians struck a medal: on one side was a head of Hercules; on the reverse, a head with a long beard, and a singular ornament. *Larcher.*—The medal of Lichas, inscribed ΛΙΚΟ, may be found in Haym. Tesoro Brit. i. p. 133. ΛΙΚΟΥ Frœt. Not. Elem. p. 242. Neuman. Pop. II. vii. 6. p. 237, 239, and finally, Rasche in voce; but it may after all be questioned whether it be either genuine, or correctly described.

* Agathoërgoi, or those who have done well. The Latin term Emeritus corresponds with this. The Emeriti were old and experienced soldiers, who had received particular rewards for their bravery, and were permitted to retire. They were sometimes also called Beneficiarii. They were excused from military drudgery, but were invited in time of war to guard the chief standard.

service among the cavalry. Of these citizens, five were every year permitted to retire; but were expected during the first year of their discharge, to visit different countries, on the business of the public.

LXVIII. Lichas, when in this situation, made the wished-for discovery, partly by good fortune, and partly by his own sagacity. They had at this time a commercial intercourse with the Tegeans; and Lichas happening to visit a smith at his forge, observed with particular curiosity the process of working iron. The man took notice of his attention, and desisted from his labour. "Stranger of Sparta," said he, "you seem to admire the art which you contemplate; but how much more would your wonder be excited, if you knew all that I am able to communicate! Near this place, as I was sinking a well, I found a coffin seven cubits long: I never believed that men were formerly of larger dimensions than at present[98]; but

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[98] *Larger dimensions than at present.*]—Upon this subject of the degeneracy of the human race, whoever wishes to see what the greatest ingenuity can urge, will receive no small entertainment from the works of Lord Monboddo. If in the time of Herodotus this seemed matter of complaint, what conclusions must an advocate of this theory draw concerning the stature of his brethren in the progress of an equal number of succeeding centuries!—*T.*

In the perusal of history, traditions are to be found, of a pretended race of giants in every country of the globe, and

when I opened it[99], I discovered a body equal in length to the coffin; I correctly measured it, and placed it where I found it." Lichas, after hearing his relation, was induced to believe, that this might be the body of Orestes, concerning which the oracle had spoken. He was farther convinced, when he recollected, that the bellows of the smith might intimate the two winds; the anvil and the hammer might express one form opposing another; the iron, also, which was beaten, might signify ill succeeding ill, rightly conceiving that the use of iron operated to the injury of mankind. With these ideas in his mind, he returned to

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even among the savages of Canada. Bones of an extraordinary size, found in different regions, have obtained such opinions credit. Some of these, in the time of Augustus, were exhibited at Caprea, formerly the resort of many savage and monstrous animals: these, it was pretended, were the bones of those giants who had fought against the gods. In 1613 they shewed through Europe, the bones of the giant Teutobachus: unluckily, a naturalist proved them to be the bones of an elephant.—*Larcher.*

99 *Opened it.*]—It may be asked how Orestes, who neither reigned nor resided at Tegea, could possibly be buried there? —Strabo, in general terms, informs us, that he died in Arcadia, whilst conducting an Æolian colony. Stephen of Byzantium is more precise: he says, that Orestes, being bitten by a viper, died at a place called Orestium. His body was doubtless carried to Tegeum, which was at no great distance, as he was descended, by his grandmother Aerope, from Tegeates, the founder of Tegea.—*Larcher.*

Sparta, and related the matter to his countrymen; who, immediately, under pretence of some imputed crime, sent him into banishment. He returned to Tegea, told his misfortune to the smith, and hired of him the ground, which he at first refused positively to part with. He resided there for a certain space of time, when, digging up the body, he collected the bones, and returned with them to Sparta. The Lacedæmonians had previously obtained possession of a great part of the Peloponnese; and, after the above-mentioned event, their contests with the Tegeans were attended with uninterrupted success.

LXIX. Crœsus was duly informed of all these circumstances: he accordingly sent messengers to Sparta with presents, at the same time directing them to form an offensive alliance with the people. They delivered their message in these terms: "Crœsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, thus addresses himself to Sparta:—I am directed by the oracles to form a Grecian alliance; and, as I know you to be pre-eminent above all the states of Greece, I, without collusion of any kind, desire to become your friend and ally." The Lacedæmonians having heard of the oracular declaration to Crœsus, were rejoiced at his distinction in their favour, and instantly acceded to the proposed terms of confederacy. It is to be

observed, that Crœsus had formerly rendered kindness to the Lacedæmonians: they had sent to Sardis to purchase some gold for the purpose of erecting the statue of Apollo, which is still to be seen at mount Thornax; Crœsus presented them with all they wanted.

LXX. Influenced by this consideration, as well as by his decided partiality to them, they entered into all his views: they declared themselves ready to give such assistance as he wanted; and, farther to mark their attachment, they prepared, as a present for the king, a brazen vessel, capable of containing three hundred amphoræ, and ornamented round the brim with the figures of various animals. This, however, never reached Sardis; the occasion of which is thus differently explained. The Lacedæmonians affirm, that their vessel was intercepted near Samos, on its way to Sardis, by the Samians, who had fitted out some ships of war for this particular purpose. The Samians, on the contrary, assert, that the Lacedæmonians employed on this business did not arrive in time; but, hearing that Sardis was lost, and Crœsus in captivity, they disposed of their charge to some private individuals of Samos, who presented it to the temple of Juno. They who acted this part, might perhaps, on their return to Sparta, declare, that the vessel had been violently taken from

them by the Samians. Such is the story of this vessel.

LXXI. Crœsus, in the mean time, deluded by the words of the oracle, prepared to lead his forces into Cappadocia, in full expectation of becoming conqueror of Cyrus, and of Persia. Whilst he was employed in providing for this expedition, a certain Lydian named Sardanis, who had always, among his countrymen, the reputation of wisdom, and became still more memorable from this occasion, thus addressed Crœsus: "You meditate, O king! an attack upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wish: strangers to the taste of wine, they drink water only[101]; even figs are a delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from such as have nothing? but if you shall be defeated, it becomes you to think, of

[101] *Drink water only.*]—Xenophon, as well as Herodotus, informs us, that the Persians drank only water: nevertheless our historian, in another place, says, that the Persians were addicted to wine. In this there is no contradiction; when these Persians were poor, a little satisfied them: rendered rich by the conquests of Cyrus and his successors, luxury, and all its concomitant vices, were introduced amongst them. —*Larcher.*

what you on your part will be deprived. When they shall once have tasted our delicacies, we shall never again be able to get rid of them. I indeed am thankful to the gods for not inspiring the Persians with the wish of invading Lydia." Crœsus disregarded this admonition: it is nevertheless certain, that the Persians, before their conquest of Lydia, were strangers to every species of luxury.

LXXII. The Cappadocians are by the Greeks called Syrians. Before the empire of Persia existed, they were under the dominion of the Medes, though at this period in subjection to Cyrus. The different empires of the Lydians and the Medes were divided by the river Halys[102]; which rising in a mountain of Armenia, passes through Cilicia, leaving in its progress the Matienians* on the right, and Phrygia on the left: then stretching towards the north, it separates the Cappadocian Syrians from Paphlagonia, which is on the left of

[102] *Halys.*]—The stream of this river was colder than any in Ionia, and celebrated for that quality by the elegiac poets. *Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor.*—I omitted to say in a former note, that Strabo knew only the eastern branch of the Halys. This seems not a little singular, as the geographer was born at no great distance from the Halys, and had crossed Asia Minor; he also describes the ground through which the southern Halys runs.

* It is difficult to understand what is meant by the Matienians on the right of the Halys. It may suit in some degree with the Morimenians.

the stream. Thus the river Halys separates all the lower parts of Asia, from the sea which flows opposite to Cyprus, as far as the Euxine, a space over which an active man [103] could not travel in less than five days [104].

LXXIII. Crœsus continued to advance towards Cappadocia; he was desirous of adding the country to his dominions, but he was principally influenced by his confidence in the oracle, and his zeal for revenging on Cyrus, the cause of Astyages. Astyages was son of Cyaxares king of the Medes, and brother-in-law to Crœsus; he was now vanquished, and detained in captivity by Cyrus, son of Cambyses. The affinity betwixt Crœsus and Astyages was of this nature: Some tumult having arisen among the Scythian Nomades, a number of them retired clandestinely

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103 *Active man, &c.*]—The Greek is ενζωνῳ ανδρι, literally, in English, a well-girt man, a man prepared for expedition. The expression is imitated by Horace:

> Hoc iter ignavi divisimus—altius ac nos
> *Præcinctis* unum.———*T.*

104 *Five days.*]—Scymnus of Chios, having remarked that the Euxine is a seven days journey distant from Cilicia, adduces the present passage as a proof of our historian's ignorance. Scymnus probably estimated the day's journey at 150 furlongs, which was sometimes done; whilst Herodotus makes it 200. This makes, between their two accounts, a difference of 50 furlongs; a difference too small to put any one out of temper with the historian.—*Larcher.*

into the territories of the Medes, where Cyaxares son of Phraortes, and grandson of Deioces, was at that time king. He received the fugitives under his protection, and, after shewing them many marks of his favour, he entrusted some boys to their care, to learn the language, and the Scythian management of the bow[105]. These Scythians employed much of their time in hunting, in which they were generally, though not always, successful. Cyaxares, it seems, was of an irritable disposition, and meeting them one day, when they returned without any game, he treated them with much insolence and asperity. They conceived themselves injured, and determined not to acquiesce in the affront. After some consultation among themselves, they determined to kill one of the children entrusted to their care, to dress him as they were accustomed to do their game, and to serve him up to Cyaxares. Having done this, they resolved to fly to Sardis, where Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, was king. They executed their purpose. Cyaxares and his guests partook of the human flesh,

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105 *Scythian management of the bow.*]—The Scythians had the reputation of being excellent archers. The scholiast of Theocritus informs us, that, according to Herodotus and Callimachus, Hercules learned the art of the bow from the Scythian Teutarus. Theocritus himself says, that Hercules learned this art from Eurytus, one of the Argonauts. The Athenians had Scythians amongst their troops, as had probably the other Greeks.—*Larcher.*

and the Scythians immediately sought the protection of Alyattes.

LXXIV. Cyaxares demanded their persons; on refusal of which a war commenced betwixt the Lydians and the Medes, which continued five years. It was attended with various success; and it is remarkable, that one of their engagements took place in the night[106]. In the sixth year, and in the midst of an engagement, when neither side could reasonably claim superiority, the day was suddenly involved in darkness. This phenomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales[107] the Milesian. Awed by the solemnity

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106 *Took place in the night.*]—I am inclined to think that one event only is spoken of here by Herodotus; and that by νυκτομαχιαν τινα he meant to express a *kind* of *night-engagement*, of which the subsequent sentence contains the particulars. Otherwise it seems strange, that he should mention the νυκτομαχια as a remarkable occurrence, and not give any particulars concerning it. The objections to this interpretation are, the connecting the sentence by δε instead of γαρ, and the following account, that they ceased to fight after the eclipse came on; but neither of these is insuperable. The interpretation of τινα is perfectly fair, and not unusual. Astronomers have affirmed, from calculation, that this eclipse must have happened in the seventh year of Astyages, not in the reign of Cyaxares.

107 *Foretold to the Ionians by Thales.*]—Of Thales, the life is given by Diogenes Laertius; many particulars also concerning him are to be found in Plutarch, Pliny, Lactantius,

of the event, the parties desisted from the engagement, and it farther influenced them both to listen to certain propositions for peace, which were made by Syennesis of Cilicia, and Labynetus[108] of Babylon. To strengthen the treaty, these persons also recommended a matrimonial connection. They advised that Alyattes should give Aryenis his daughter to Astyages, son of Cyaxares, from the just conviction that no political engagements are durable, unless strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds[109]. The ceremony of concluding

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Apuleius, and Cicero. He was the first of the seven wise men, the first also who distinguished himself by his knowledge of astrology; add to which, he was the first who predicted an eclipse. His most memorable saying was, that he was thankful to the gods for three things—That he was born a man, and not a beast; that he was born a man, and not a woman; that he was born a Greek, and not a Barbarian. The darkness in the Iliad, which surprizes the Greeks and Trojans in the midst of a severe battle, though represented as preternatural, and the immediate interposition of Jupiter himself, has not the effect of suspending the battle. This might, perhaps, afford matter of discussion, did not the description of the darkness, and the subsequent prayer of Ajax, from their beauty and sublimity, exclude all criticism.—*T.*

[108] *Labynetus.*]—The same, says Prideaux, with the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture. He was called, continues the same author, by Berosus, Nabonnedes; by Megasthenes, Nabonnidichus; by Josephus, Naboardelus.—*T.*

[109] *Strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds.*—It is not, perhaps, much to the credit of modern refinement, that

alliances is the same in this nation as in Greece, with this addition, that both parties wound themselves in the arm, and lick each other's blood [110].

LXXV. Astyages, therefore, was the grandfather of Cyrus, though at this time vanquished by him, and his captive, the particulars of which event I shall hereafter relate. This was what excited the original enmity of Crœsus, aud prompted him to enquire of the oracle, whether he should make war upon Persia. He interpreted the delusive reply which was given him, in a manner the most favourable to himself, and proceeded in his concerted expedition. When he arrived at the river Halys, he passed over his forces on bridges, which he there found constructed; although the Greeks in general assert, that this service was rendered him by Thales the Milesian. Whilst Crœsus was hesitating over what part of the river he

political intermarriages, betwixt those of royal blood, seem anciently to have been considered as more solemn in themselves, and to have operated more effectually to the security of the public peace, than at present.—*T.*

[110] *Each other's blood.*]—The Scythians, according to Herodotus, have a custom nearly similar.—"If the Siamese wish to vow an eternal friendship, they make an incision in some part of the body, till the blood appears, which they afterwards reciprocally drink. In this manner the ancient Scythians and Babylonians ratified alliances; and almost all the modern nations of the East observe the same custom." *Civil and Natural History of Siam.*

should attempt a passage, as there was no bridge then constructed, Thales divided it into two branches. He sunk a deep trench [111], which commencing above the camp, from the river, was conducted round it in the form of a semicircle till it again met the ancient bed. It thus became easily fordable on either side. There are some who say, that the old channel was entirely dried up, to which opinion I can by no means assent, for then their return would have been equally difficult.

LXXVI. Crœsus having passed over with his army, came into that part of Cappadocia which is called Pteria, the best situated in point of strength of all that district, and near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine. He here fixed his station, and, after wasting the Syrian lands, besieged and took the Pterians principal city. He destroyed also the neighbouring towns, and almost exterminated the Syrians, from whom he had certainly received no injury. Cyrus at length collected his forces [112],

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[111] *Sunk a deep trench.*]—Anciently, when they wanted to construct a bridge, they began by adding another channel to the river, to turn off the waters: when the ancient bed was dry, or at least when there was but little water left, the bridge was erected. Thus it was much less troublesome to Crœsus to turn the river than to construct a bridge.—*Larcher.*

[112] *Cyrus at length collected his forces.*]—Cyrus, intimidated by the threats of Crœsus, was inclined to retire into

and, taking with him those nations which lay betwixt himself and the invader, advanced to meet him. Before he began his march, he dispatched emissaries to the Ionians, with the view of detaching them from Crœsus. This not succeeding, he moved forward, and attacked Crœsus in his camp; they engaged on the plains of Pteria, with the greatest ardour on both sides. The battle was continued with equal violence and loss till night parted the combatants, leaving neither in possession of victory.

LXXVII. The army of Crœsus being inferior in number, and Cyrus on the morrow discovering no inclination to renew the engagement, the Lydian prince determined to return to Sardis, intending to claim the assistance of the Ægyptians, with whose king, Amasis, he had formed an alliance, previous to his treaty with the Lacedæmonians. He had also made an offensive and defensive league with the Babylonians, over whom Laby-

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India. His wife Bardane inspired him with new courage, and advised him to consult Daniel, who, on more than one occasion, had predicted future events, both to her and to Darius the Mede. Cyrus having consulted the prophet, received from him an assurance of victory. To me this seems one of those fables which the Jews and earlier Christians made no scruple of asserting as truths not to be disputed.—*Larcher.*

netus was then king[113]. With these, in addition to the Lacedæmonian aids, who were to be ready at a stipulated period, he resolved, after spending a certain time in winter quarters, to attack the Persians early in the spring. Full of these thoughts, Crœsus returned to Sardis, and immediately sent messengers to his different allies, requiring them to meet at Sardis, within the space of five months. The troops which he had led against the Persians, being chiefly mercenaries, he disembodied and dismissed, never supposing that Cyrus, who had certainly no claims to victory, would think of following him to Sardis.

LXXVIII. Whilst the mind of Crœsus was thus occupied, the lands near his capital were infested with a multitude of serpents; and it was observed, that to feed on these, the horses neglected and forsook their pastures[114]. Crœsus conceiving this to be of mysterious import, which it certainly was, sent to make enquiry of the Tel-

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113 *Labynetus was then king.*]—Labynetus was the last king of Babylon. He united himself with Crœsus to repress the too great power of Cyrus. The conduct of Amasis was prompted by a similar motive.—*Larcher.*—This name of Labynetus occurs frequently among the kings of Babylon.—It is necessary to remember this. See note, p. 121.

114 *Forsook their pastures.*]—There is a collection of prodigies by Julius Obsequens; all of which were understood to be predictive of some momentous event. Amongst these,

messian priests[115] concerning it. The answer which his messengers received, explaining the prodigy, they had no opportunity of communicating to Crœsus, for before they could possibly return to Sardis, he was defeated and a captive. The Telmessians had thus interpreted the incident:—that a foreign army was about to attack Crœsus, on whose arrival the natives would be certainly subdued; for as the serpent was produced from the earth, the horse might be considered both as a foreigner and an enemy. When the ministers of the oracle reported this answer to Crœsus, he was already in captivity, of which, and of the events which accompanied it, they were at that time ignorant.

LXXIX. Cyrus was well-informed that it was the intention of Crœsus, after the battle of Pteria, to dismiss his forces; he conceived it therefore advisable, to advance with all imaginable expedi-

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the example of some mice eating the gold consecrated to the use of a divinity, and deposited in his temple, is not less remarkable than the instance before us. This with other prodigies was made to refer to the destruction of Carthage.

[115] *Telmessian priests.*]—Telmessus was a son of Apollo, by one of the daughters of Antenor. The god had commerce with her under the form of a little dog; and to make her compensation, endowed her with the faculty of interpreting prodigies. Telmessus, her son, had the same gift. He was interred under the altar of Apollo, in the city of Telmessa, of which he was probably the founder.—*Larcher.*

tion to Sardis, before the Lydian forces could again be collected. The measure was no sooner concerted than executed; and conducting his army instantly into Lydia, he was himself the messenger of his arrival. Crœsus, although distressed by an event so contrary to his foresight and expectation, lost no time in preparing the Lydians for battle. At that period no nation of Asia was more hardy or more valiant than the Lydians. They fought principally on horseback, armed with long spears, and were very expert in the management of the horse.

LXXX. The field of battle was a spacious and open plain in the vicinity of Sardis, intersected by many streams, and by the Hyllus in particular, all of which united with one larger than the rest, called the Hermus. This, rising in the mountain, which is sacred to Cybele, finally empties itself into the sea, near the city Phocæa. Here Cyrus found the Lydians prepared for the encounter; and as he greatly feared the impression of their cavalry, by the advice of Harpagus the Mede, he took the following means to obviate the danger. He collected all the camels which followed his camp, carrying the provisions and other baggage; taking their burdens from these, he placed on them men accoutred as horsemen. Thus prepared, he ordered them to advance against the Lydian horse; his infantry were to follow in the rear of

the camels, and his own cavalry* closed the order of the attack. Having thus arranged his forces, he commanded that no quarter should be granted to the Lydians, but that whoever resisted should be put to death, Crœsus himself excepted, who, whatever opposition he might make, was at all events to be taken alive. He placed his camels in the van, knowing the hatred which a horse has to this animal[116], being neither able to support the smell nor the sight of it. He was satisfied that the principal dependance of Crœsus was on his cavalry, which he hoped by this stratagem to render ineffective. The engagement had no sooner commenced, than the horses seeing and smelling the camels, threw their own ranks into disorder, to the total discomfiture of Crœsus. Nevertheless the Lydians did not immediately surrender the day: they discovered the stratagem, and quit-

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* *His own cavalry.*]—Xenophon remarks, book the seventh of the Cyropædia, at the beginning, that the cavalry with which Cyrus proceeded on his march against Crœsus, were covered on their heads and breasts with mails of brass. This may serve perhaps as an explanatory comment on Jer. li. 27. "Cause the horses to come up as *a rough caterpillar;*" that is, perhaps, with mails of brass on their heads and necks.

Locusts are compared to horses and horsemen, in the book of Joel, chap. ii. verse 4.—"The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses, and like horsemen shall they run."

116 *Horse has to this animal.*]—This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel, is affirmed by the ancients; but it is disproved by daily experience, and derided by the best judges, the Orientals. *Gibbon.*—It should however be observed that the horses of Crœsus had never seen a camel.

ting their horses, engaged the Persians on foot; a great number of men fell on both sides; but the Lydians were finally compelled to fly, and, retreating within their walls, were there closely besieged.

LXXXI. Crœsus, believing the siege would be considerably protracted, sent other emissaries to his different confederates. The tendency of his former mission was to require their presence at Sardis within five months. He now entreated the immediate assistance of his other allies, in common with the Lacedæmonians.

LXXXII. At this crisis the Spartans themselves were engaged in dispute with the Argives, concerning the possession of a place called Thyrea[117]; of which, although it really constituted a part of the Argive territories, the Lacedæmonians had taken violent possession. All that tract of country which extends from Argos, westward, to Malea, as well the continent as Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives. They prepared to defend the part of the territories which had been attacked; but the parties coming to a conference, it was agreed that three hundred men

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[117] *Called Thyrea.*]—Thyrea was, from its situation, a place of infinite importance to the Argives, as they obtained by it a communication with all their other possessions on that side.—*Larcher.*

on each side should decide the dispute, and that Thyrea should be the reward of victory. Both the armies, by agreement, were to retire to their respective homes, lest remaining on the field of battle, either should be induced to render assistance to their party. After their departure, the men who had been selected for the purpose, came to an engagement, and fought with so little inequality, that out of six hundred but three remained, when night had terminated the contest. Of the Argives two survived, whose names were Alcenor and Chromius; they hastened to Argos, and claimed the victory. The Lacedæmonian was called Othryades, who, plundering the bodies of the slaughtered Argives, removed their arms to the camp of his countrymen, and then resumed his post in the field. On the second day after the event, the parties met, and both claimed the victory, the Argives, because the greater number of their men survived; the Lacedæmonians, because the Argives who remained had fled, but their single man had continued in the field, and plundered the bodies of his adversaries. Their altercations terminated in a battle[118], in which, after considerable loss on both sides, the

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118 *Terminated in a battle.*]—Plutarch, on the contrary, affirms, that the Amphictyons coming to the spot, and bearing testimony of the valour of Othryades, adjudged the victory to the Lacedæmonians. He makes no mention of a second battle.—*Larcher.*

Lacedæmonians were victorious. From this time and incident, the Argives, who formerly suffered their hair to grow to its full length, cut it short, binding themselves by a solemn imprecation, that till Thyrea should be recovered, no man should permit his hair to increase, nor Argive woman adorn herself with gold. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, issued an edict, that as they formerly wore their hair short[119], it should henceforth be

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119 *Formerly wore their hair short.*]—All the Greeks formerly wore their hair very long, which is evident from the epithet so repeatedly given them by Homer, of long-haired. Xenophon, in contradiction to the passage before us, remarks, that the Lacedæmonian custom of suffering the hair to grow, was amongst the institutions of Lycurgus. Plutarch also denies the fact here introduced.—*Larcher.*

Among the sacred deposits of the Acanthians at Delphi, one has this inscription—"BRASIDAS AND THE ACANTHII TOOK THIS FROM THE ATHENIANS." Hence many are of opinion that the marble statue which stands in the chapel of that nation, just by the door, is the statue of Brasidas. But, in fact, it is Lysander's, whom it perfectly represents, with his hair at full growth, and a length of beard, both after the ancient fashion. It is not true, indeed, (as some would have it) that while the Argives cut their hair in sorrow for the loss of a great battle, the Lacedæmonians began to let their's grow in the joy of success. Nor did they first give into this custom, when the Bacchiadæ fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, and made a disagreeable appearance with their shorn locks. But it is derived from the institution of Lycurgus, who is reported to have said, that—"*long hair makes the handsome more beautiful, and the ugly more terrible.*" Plutarch's Life of Lysander, by Dr. Langhorne.

permitted to grow. It is reported of Othryades, the survivor of his three hundred countrymen, that ashamed to return to Sparta, when all his comrades had so honourably died, he put himself to death at Thyrea.

LXXXIII. Whilst the Spartans were in this situation, the Sardian messenger arrived, relating the extreme danger of Crœsus, and requesting their immediate assistance. This they without hesitation resolved to give. Whilst they were making, for this purpose, preparations of men and ships, a second messenger brought intelligence, that Sardis was taken, and Crœsus in captivity. Strongly impressed by this wonderful calamity, the Lacedæmonians made no farther efforts.

LXXXIV. Sardis was thus taken:—On the fourteenth day of the siege, Cyrus sent some horsemen round his camp, promising a reward to him who should first scale the wall. The attempt was made, but without success. After which a certain Mardian, whose name was Hyræades[120],

This battle necessarily brings to mind the contest of the Horatii and Curiatii, which decided the empire of Rome. The account which Suidas gives of Othryades, differs essentially. Othryades, says he, was wounded, and concealed himself amongst the bodies of the slain; and when Alcenor and Chromius, the Argives who survived, were departed, he himself stripping the bodies of the enemy, erected thus a trophy, as it were, of human blood, and immediately died.—*T.*

[120] For this reference, see following page.]

made a daring effort on a part of the citadel where no sentinel was stationed; it being so strong and so difficult of approach, as seemingly to defy all attack. Around this place alone, Meles had neglected to carry his son Leon, whom he had by a concubine, the Telmessian priests having declared, that Sardis should never be taken, if Leon were carried round the walls. Leon, it seems, was carried by his father round every part of the citadel which was exposed to attack. He omitted taking him round that, which is opposite to mount Tmolus, from the persuasion that its natural strength rendered all modes of defence unnecessary. Here, however, the Mardian had the preceding day observed a Lydian descend to

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120 *Hyræades.*]—Of this person, Xenophon does not give the name. According to him, a Persian who had been the slave of a man on military duty in the citadel, served as guide to the troops of Cyrus. In other respects, his account of the capture of Sardis differs but little from that of our Historian.—*Larcher.*

By means of this very rock, and by a similar stratagem, Sardis was a long time afterwards taken, under the conduct of Antiochus. The circumstances are described at length by Polybius. An officer had observed, that vultures and birds of prey gathered there about the offals and dead bodies thrown into the hollow by the besieged; and inferred that the wall standing on the edge of the precipice was neglected, as secure from attack. He scaled it with a resolute party, while Antiochus called off the attention both of his own army and of the enemy, by a feint, marching as if he intended to attack the Persian gate. Two thousand soldiers rushed in at the gate opened for them, and took their post at the theatre, when the town was plundered and burned.—*T.*

recover his helmet, which had fallen down the precipice. He revolved the incident in his mind. He attempted to scale it; he was seconded by other Persians, and their example followed by greater numbers. In this manner was Sardis stormed [121], and afterwards given up to plunder.

LXXXV. We have now to speak of the fate of Crœsus. He had a son, as I have before related, who, though accomplished in other respects, was unfortunately dumb. Crœsus, in his former days of good fortune, had made every attempt to obtain a cure for this infirmity. Amongst other things, he sent to enquire of the Delphic oracle. The Pythian returned this answer:—

Wide-ruling Lydian, in thy wishes wild,
Ask not to hear the accents of thy child;
Far better were his silence for thy peace,
And sad will be the day when that shall cease.

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121 *In this manner was Sardis stormed.*]—Polyænus relates the matter differently. According to him, Cyrus availed himself of a truce which he had concluded with Crœsus, to advance his forces, and making his approach by night, took the city by surprize. Crœsus still remaining in possession of the citadel, expected the arrival of his Grecian succours: but Cyrus putting in irons the relations and friends of those who defended the citadel, shewed them in that state to the besieged; at the same time he informed them by a herald, that if they would give up the place, he would set their friends at liberty; but that if they persevered in their defence, he would put them to death. The besieged chose rather to surrender, than cause their relations to perish.—*T.*

During the storm of the city, a Persian meeting Crœsus, was, through ignorance of his person, about to kill him. The king, overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow or escape death; but his dumb son, when he saw the violent designs of the Persian, overcome with astonishment and terror, exclaimed aloud, "Oh, man, do not kill Crœsus!"[122] This was the first time he had ever articulated, but he retained the faculty of speech from this event, as long as he lived.

LXXXVI. The Persians thus obtained possession of Sardis, and made Crœsus captive, when he had reigned fourteen years, and after a siege of fourteen days; a mighty empire, agreeably to the prediction which had deluded him, being then destroyed. The Persians brought him to the presence of Cyrus, who ordered him to be placed in chains upon the summit of an huge wooden

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122 "*Do not kill Crœsus!*"]—Mr. Hayley, in his Essay on History, reprobating the irreligious spirit of Mr. Gibbon, happily introduces this incident.

My verse, says the Poet,

—Breathes an honest sigh of deep concern,
And pities genius, when his wild career
Gives faith a wound, and innocence a fear.
Humility herself, divinely mild,
Sublime Religion's meek and modest child,
Like the dumb son of Crœsus, in the strife
Where force assail'd his father's sacred life,
Breaks silence, and with filial duty warm,
Bids thee revere her parent's hallow'd form.

pile [123], with *fourteen Lydian youths around him. He did this, either desirous of offering to some deity the first fruits of his victory, in compliance with a vow which he had made; or, perhaps, anxious to know whether any deity would liberate Crœsus, of whose piety he had heard much, from the danger of being consumed by fire. When Crœsus stood erect upon the pile, although in this extremity of misery, he did not forget the saying of Solon, which now appeared of divine inspiration, that no living mortal could be accounted happy. When the remembrance of this saying occurred to Crœsus, it is said, that rousing himself from the profoundest silence of affliction, he thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon [124].

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123 *An huge wooden pile.*]—The cruelty of this conduct of Cyrus is aggravated from the consideration that Crœsus was his relation. See chap. 73.—*T.*

* *Fourteen Lydian youths.*]—Achilles, in the Iliad, sacrifices twelve Trojan youths at the funeral pile of Patroclus.

And twelve *sad* victims of the Trojan line
Sacred to vengeance, instant shall expire,
Their lives effus'd around thy funeral pyre.

Again,

Then last of all, and horrible to tell,
Sad sacrifice, twelve Trojan captives fell.

The reader will, doubtless, agree with me, that the word *sad* is in both these places very ill and feebly applied by Pope in his version. The expression of Homer is, αγλαα τεκνα,—Illustrious youths or sons.

124 *The name of Solon.*—It seems in this place not improper to introduce from Plutarch the following particulars, with respect to Crœsus and Solon. That Solon, says Plu-

Cyrus hearing this, desired by his interpreters to know whom it was that he invoked. They approached, and asked him, but he continued silent. At length, being compelled to explain himself, he said, "I named a man with whom I had rather that all kings should converse, than be master of the greatest riches." Not being sufficiently understood, he was solicited to be more explicit; to their repeated and importunate enquiries, he replied to this effect: That Solon, an Athenian, had formerly visited him, a man who, when he had seen all his immense riches, treated them with disdain; whose sayings were at that moment verified in his fate; sayings which he had applied not to him in particular, but to all mankind, and especially to those who were in their own esti-

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tarch, should converse with Crœsus, seems to some not consistent with chronology; but I cannot for this reason reject a relation so credible in itself, and so well attested. Plutarch, after this remark, proceeds to give an account of the conversation betwixt Crœsus and Solon, nearly in the same words with Herodotus: "The felicity of that man," concludes the philosopher, to the king, "who still lives, is like the glory of a wrestler still within the ring, precarious and uncertain." He was then dismissed, having vexed, but not instructed Crœsus. But when Crœsus was conquered by Cyrus, his city taken, and himself a prisoner, he was bound, and about to be burned on a pile; then he remembered the words of Solon, and three times pronounced his name. The explanation given at the request of Cyrus, preserved the life of Crœsus, and obtained him respect and honour with his conqueror. Thus Solon had the glory, by the same saying, to instruct one prince and preserve another.—*Plutarch's Life of Solon.*

mation happy. While Crœsus was thus speaking the pile was lighted, and the flame began to ascend. Cyrus being informed of what had passed, felt compunction for what he had done*. His heart reproached him, that being himself a mortal, he had condemned to a cruel death by fire, a man formerly not inferior to himself. He feared the anger of the gods, and reflecting that all human affairs are precarious and uncertain, he commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, and Crœsus to be saved with his companions. They could not, however, with all their efforts, extinguish the flames.

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* Dryden has made an admirable use of this pathetic emotion, in his Ode on Cecilia's Day:

The master saw the madness rise;
His glowing cheeks, his ardent eyes;
And while he heaven and earth defied,
Changed his hand, and checked his pride;
He chose a mournful muse,
Soft pity to infuse;
He sung Darius great and good,
By too severe a fate,
Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen,
Fallen from his high estate,
And weltering in his blood;
Deserted in his utmost need,
By those his former bounty fed,
On the bare earth exposed he lies,
With not a friend to close his eyes;
With downcast looks the joyless victor sate,
Revolving in his altered soul
The various turns of fate below,
And now and then a sigh he stole,
And tears began to flow.

LXXXVII. In this extremity, the Lydians affirm, that Crœsus, informed of the change of the king's sentiments in his favour, by seeing the officious but seemingly useless efforts of the multitude to extinguish the flames, implored the assistance of Apollo, entreating, that if he had ever made him any acceptable offering[125], he would now interpose, and deliver him from the impending danger. When Crœsus, with tears, had thus invoked the god, the sky, which before was serene and tranquil, suddenly became dark and gloomy, a violent storm of rain succeeded, and the fire of the pile was extinguished. This event satisfied Cyrus, that Crœsus was both a good man in himself, and a favourite of Heaven: causing him to be taken down from the pile, "Crœsus," said he, addressing him, "what could induce you to invade my territories, and become my enemy rather than my friend?" "O king," replied Crœsus, "it was the prevalence of your good and of my evil fortune, which prompted my attempt. I attacked your dominions, impelled and deluded by

[125] *Ever made him any acceptable offering.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that in this passage Herodotus must have had in his eye the following lines of Homer:

Thou source of light, whom Tenedos adores,
And whose bright presence gilds thy Chrysa's shores;
If e'er with wreaths I hung thy sacred fane,
Or fed the flames with fat of oxen slain,
God of the silver bow, &c.—*Iliad, Book* i. v. 55.*

* The fate of Crœsus contradicts the old Greek proverb, that even the gods might be won by gifts—πειθειν δωρα και θεους, λογος.—Eurip.

the deity of the Greeks. No one can be so infatuated as not to prefer tranquillity to war. In peace, children inter their parents; war violates the order of nature, and causes parents to inter their children*. It must have pleased the gods that these things should so happen."

LXXXVIII. Cyrus immediately ordered him to be unbound, placed him near his person, and

* See the pathetic scene in Shakspeare's King Henry VI. the 3d part, where the son is represented as killing his father, and the father his son, in the broils between the houses of York and Lancaster.

O God! it is my father's face,
Whom in this conflict I unwares have killed;
O heavy times begetting such events!
I who at his hands received my life,
Have by my hands of life bereaved him.—

Again,

Is this our foeman's face?
Ah! no, no, no, it is mine only son!
What stratagems, how fell, how butcherly,
Erroneous, mutinous and unnatural
This deadly quarrel daily doth beget!
Oh, boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,
And hath bereft thee of thy life too late!*

* In the dungeon among the captives of Pride, Spenser introduces Crœsus:

There was that great proud King of Babylon
That would compel all nations to adore,
And him as onely God to call upon,
Till through celestial doome throwne out of doore,
Into an oxe he was transformed of yore.
There also was King Crœsus, that enhaunst
His heart too high, through his great riches store,
And proud Antiochus, the which advanc'd
His cursed hand 'gainst God, and on his altars daunc'd.

treated him with great respect; indeed he excited the admiration of all who were present. After an interval of silent meditation, Crœsus observed the Persians engaged in the plunder of the city. "Does it become me, Cyrus," said he, "to continue silent on this occasion, or to speak the sentiments of my heart?" Cyrus entreated him to speak without apprehension or reserve. "About what," he returned, "is that multitude so eagerly employed." "They are plundering your city," replied Cyrus, "and possessing themselves of your wealth." "No," answered Crœsus, "they do not plunder *my* city, nor possess themselves of *my* wealth, I have no concern with either; it is your property which they are thus destroying."

LXXXIX. These words disturbed Cyrus; desiring therefore those who were present to withdraw, he asked Crœsus what measures he would recommend in the present emergence. "The gods," answered Crœsus, "have made me your captive, and you are therefore justly entitled to the benefit of my reflections. Nature has made the Persians haughty, but poor. If you permit them to indulge without restraint this spirit of devastation, by which they may become rich, it is probable that your acquiescence may thus foster a spirit of rebellion against yourself. I would recommend the following mode to be adopted, if agreeable to your wisdom: station some of your guards at each of the gates, let it be their busi-

ness to stop the plunderers with their booty, and bid them assign, as a reason, that one tenth part must be consecrated to Jupiter. Thus you will not incur their enmity by any seeming violence of conduct; they will even accede without reluctance to your views, under the impression of your being actuated by pious motives.

XC. Cyrus was delighted with the advice, and immediately adopted it; he stationed guards in the manner recommended by Crœsus, whom he afterwards thus addressed: "Crœsus, your conduct and your words mark a *princely character, I desire you, therefore, to request of me whatever you please, and your wish shall be instantly gratified." "Sir," replied Crœsus, "you will materially oblige me, by permitting me to send these fetters to the god of Greece[126], whom, above all other gods, I have most honoured; and to enquire of him whether it be his custom to delude those who have claims upon his kindness." When

* Princely character—*ανδρος βασιλεος. βασιλευς ανηρ*, does not mean a king, but was a common expression among the Greeks to denote a person of distinction. Similar to this was Rex in Latin, which also meant a nobleman. Thus in Horace:

Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis
Et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant
An sit amicitiâ dignus.——

A. P. 434.

[126] The ancients firmly believed in local gods; thus the god of Greece was very different from the god of Crœsus, or the god of Cyrus.

Cyrus expressed a wish to know the occasion of this reproach, Crœsus ingenuously explained each particular of his conduct, the oracles he had received, and the gifts he had presented; declaring, that these inspired communications had alone induced him to make war upon the Persians. He finished his narrative with again soliciting permission to send and reproach the divinity which had deceived him. Cyrus smiled: I will not only grant this," said he, "but whatever else you shall require." Crœsus accordingly dispatched some Lydians to Delphi, who were commissioned to place his fetters on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the deity were not ashamed at having, by his oracles, induced Crœsus to make war on Persia, with the expectation of overturning the empire of Cyrus, of which war these chains were the first fruits: and they were farther to enquire if the gods of Greece were usually ungrateful.

XCI. The Lydians proceeded on their journey, and executed their commission; they are said to have received the following reply from the Pythian priestess: "That to avoid the determination of destiny[127] was impossible even for a

[127] *Determination of destiny.*]—There were two fates, the greater and the less: the determinations of the first were immutable; those of the latter might be set aside. The ex-

divinity: that Crœsus, in his person, expiated the crimes of his ancestor, in the fifth descent[128]; who being a guardsman of the Heraclidæ, was seduced by the artifice of a woman to assassinate his master, and without the remotest pretensions succeeded to his dignities: that Apollo was desirous to have this destruction of Sardis fall on

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pression in Virgil, of "Si qua fata aspera rumpas," is certainly equivocal, and must be understood as applying to the lesser fates. This subject is fully discussed by Bentley, in his notes to Horace, Epist. book 2, who, for "ingentia facta," proposes to read 'ingentia fata."—*T.*

To avoid the determination of destiny.]—See Spenser, book iv. canto ii. stanz. 51.

For what the fates do once decree,
Not all the gods can change, nor Jove himself can free.

Several writers suppose, that Herodotus in these words has declared his own sentiments, and quote them as a saying of the historian. See Jortin's Remarks on Spenser.

It was a common notion among the Heathens. See Æsch. Prometh. 516. Ovid. Met. ix. 429.

[128] *In the fifth descent.*]—"Such, you say, is the power of the gods, that if death shall deliver an individual from the punishment due to his crimes, vengeance shall still be satisfied on his children, his grandchildren, or some of his posterity." Wonderful as may be the equity of Providence, will any city suffer a law to be introduced, which shall punish a son or a grandson for the crimes of his father or his grandfather?" *Cicero de Naturâ Deorum.*—Upon the above Larcher remarks, that Cicero speaks like a wise, Herodotus like a superstitious man. It is true that it is the Divinity who speaks; but it is the historian who makes him, and who approves of what he says.

Crœsus was the fifth descendant of Gyges. The genealogy was this:- Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes, Crœsus.—*T.*

the descendants of Crœsus, but was unable to counteract the decrees of fate; that he had really obviated them as far as was possible; and, to shew his partiality to Crœsus [129], had caused the ruin of Sardis to be deferred for the space of three years: that of this, Crœsus might be assured, that if the will of the fates had been punctually fulfilled, he would have been three years sooner a captive: neither ought he to forget, that when in danger of being consumed by fire, Apollo had afforded him his succour: that with respect to the declaration of the oracle, Crœsus was not justified in his complaints; for Apollo had declared, that if he made war against the Persians, a mighty empire would be overthrown; the real purport of which communication, if he had been

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129 *Partiality to Crœsus.*]—In the remoter ages of ignorance and superstition, the divinities, or their symbols, did not always experience from their worshippers the same uniform veneration. When things succeeded contrary to their wishes or their prayers, they sometimes chained their gods, sometimes beat them, and often reproached them. So that it seems difficult to account for those qualities of the human mind, which, acknowledging the inclination to hear petitions, with the power to grant them, at one time expressed themselves in the most abject and unmanly superstition, at another indulged resentments equally preposterous and unnatural. To a mind but the least enlightened, the very circumstance of a deity's apologizing to a fallen mortal for his predictions and their effects, seems to have but little tendency to excite in future an awe of his power, a reverence for his wisdom, or a confidence in his justice.—*T.*

anxious to understand, it became him to have enquired whether the god alluded to his empire, or to the empire of Cyrus; but that not understanding the reply which had been made, nor condescending to make a second enquiry, he had been himself the cause of his own misfortune: that he had not at all comprehended the last answer of the oracle, which related to the mule; for that this mule was Cyrus, who was born of two parents of two different nations, of whom the mother was as noble as the father was mean; his mother was a Mede, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes; his father was a Persian, and tributary to the Medes, who, although a man of the very meanest rank, had married a princess, who was his mistress."—This answer of the Pythian, the Lydians, on their return, communicated to Crœsus. Crœsus having heard it, exculpated the deity, and acknowledged himself to be reprehensible. Such, however, was the termination of the empire of Crœsus, and this the recital of the first conquest of Ionia.

XCII. Besides the sacred offerings of Crœsus which I have before enumerated, many others are extant in Greece. In the Bœotian Thebes, there is a golden tripod [130], consecrated by him to the

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130 *Tripod.*]—We must not confound the tripods of the ancients with the utensils known by us under a similar name (in French *trepieds*, corresponding with the kitchen utensil

Ismenian Apollo[131]: there are also at Ephesus[132] some golden heifers, and a number of columns. He gave also to the Pronean Minerva[133] a large golden shield, which is still to be seen at Delphi. All the above remained within my remembrance; many others have been lost. He presented also, as it appears, to the Milesian Branchidæ, gifts equal in weight and value to what he sent to Delphi. The presents which he made to Delphi, as well as those which he sent to Amphiaraus, were given for sacred purposes, being the first

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called in English *footman.)* The tripod was a vessel standing upon three feet, of which there were two kinds: the one was appropriated to festivals, and contained wine mixed with water; the others, in which water was to be made warm, were placed upon the fire.—*Larcher.*

131 *Ismenian Apollo.*]—Ismenus was a river in Bœotia, not far from Aulis. Ismenius was synonymous with Thebanus, and therefore the Ismenian Apollo is the same with the Theban Apollo.—*T.*

132 *Ephesus.*]—Pococke says, that the place now called Aiesalouk is ancient Ephesus. Chandler says otherwise.

The two cities of Ephesus and Smyrna have been termed the eyes of Asia Minor: they were distant from each other three hundred and twenty stadia, or forty miles, in a straight line.—*T.*

133 *Pronean Minerva.*]—This means the Minerva whose shrine or temple was opposite to that of Apollo at Delphi: but Herodotus, in his eighth book, makes mention of the shrine of Minerva Pronoia, or of Minerva the goddess of providence. So that, at Delphi, there were two different shrines or temples consecrated to Minerva, the Pronean, and the Pronoian.—*T.*

fruits of his own private possessions. His other donations were formerly the property of an adversary, who had shewn himself hostile to Crœsus before he succeeded to the throne, attaching himself to Pantaleon[134], and favouring his views on the imperial dignity. Pantaleon was also the son of Alyattes, and brother of Crœsus, but not by the same mother: Alyattes had Crœsus by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian wife. But when, agreeably to the will of his father, Crœsus took possession of the throne, he destroyed this man, who had opposed him with a fuller's instrument*:

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134 *Pantaleon.*]—When Crœsus mounted the Lydian throne, he divided the kingdom with his brother. A Lydian remarked to him, that the sun obtains for mankind all the comforts which the earth produces, and that, deprived of its influence, it would cease to be fruitful. But if there were two suns, it were to be feared that every thing would be scorched, and perish. For this reason the Lydians have but one king; him they regard as their protector, but they will not allow of two.—*Stobæus.*

* *A fuller's instrument.*]—The expression in the editions of Herodotus, which precede Wesseling, has been hastily copied. The true reading is not επι κναφηϊδι ελκων, but επι κναφω ελκων, torturing him so as to tear away his flesh piecemeal upon a fuller's κναφος, that is, an instrument set round with sharp points. This reading is supported by the glossary to Herodotus, by Timæus, whose platonic lexicon is frequently interpolated from Herodotus, and by Suidas. Plutarch, in the treatise which professes to shew the malignity of Herodotus, quotes this passage, and reads in the common editions, επι ταφον; but in Aldus, επι ναφον, which only wants a letter of the genuine reading. It is curious to observe M. Larcher's

his wealth he distributed in the manner we have before related, in compliance with a vow which he had formerly made. Such is the history of the offerings of Crœsus.

XCIII. If we except the gold dust which descends from mount Tmolus[135], Lydia can exhibit no curiosity which may vie with those of other countries. It boasts, however, of one monument of art, second to none but those of the Ægyptians and Babylonians. It is the sepulchre of Alyattes[136], father of Crœsus. The foundation is composed of immense stones; the rest of the structure is a huge mound of earth. The edifice was raised by merchants, labourers, and young

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mistake upon this place: he says, that Aldus's edition reads επι ναφου; interpreting of Herodotus what Wesseling says of Plutarch, for Aldus's edition, which is now before me, plainly reads επι κναφηϊου ελκων.—*T.*

135 *Mount Tmolus.*]—The country about mount Tmolus, which comprehended the plain watered by the Hermus, was always remarkable for its fertility and beauty; and whoever will be at the pains to consult Chandler's Travels, will find that it has lost but little of its ancient claims to admiration.—*T.*

136 *Sepulchre of Alyattes.*]—The remains of this barrow are still conspicuous within five miles of Sardes, now called Sart. The industrious Dr. Chandler informs us, that the mould which has been washed down, conceals the basement; but that, and a considerable treasure might perhaps be discovered, if the barrow were opened.—See *Chandler's Travels.*

women, who prostituted themselves for hire. On the summit of this monument there remained, within my remembrance, five termini, upon which were inscriptions to ascertain the performance of each, and to intimate that the women accomplished the greater part of the work. All the young women of Lydia prostitute themselves, by which they procure their marriage-portion; this, with their persons, they afterwards dispose of as they think proper. The circumference of the tomb is six furlongs and two plethra, the breadth thirteen plethra; it is terminated by a large piece of water, which the Lydians affirm to be inexhaustible, and is called the Gygean lake[137] *.

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[137] *Gygean lake.*]—This still remains.—*T.*

* The learned Mr. King considers this description of the sepulchre of Alyattes as exactly corresponding with a large British or Irish barrow. It seems an act of justice to give his account of it in his own words:

On the same rising ground, near the middle, and towards Sardes, is most remarkably conspicuous, the vast monument or barrow of Halyattes, the father of Crœsus, where the mould which has been washed down by time now conceals (as Chandler very fairly supposes) the basement of stone mentioned by Herodotus.

That great historian's very remarkable description of the mode of constructing it, well deserves our notice, and especially as one part of his account will admit of two different kinds of explanation, and as that which has never yet been adopted may probably be the true one.

Herodotus says, "Lydia exhibits one work, by far the greatest of any, except the works of the Egyptians and Babylonians; for there is *there* the sepulchre of Halyattes, the

XCIV. The manners and customs of the Lydians do not essentially vary from those of Greece.

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father of Crœsus, *the foundation of which* (or *the bottom part*) ἡ κρηπις, *is of great stones: but the rest of the sepulchre* χωμα γῆς, *a tumulus of earth.*"

Here we have surely, in the first place, an exact description of what perfectly resembles a large British or Irish barrow; we have also some intimation in the next place of the probable existence of a *passage* and *kitsvaen*, or small room *under the foundation of great stones*, designed for the reception of the bones and ashes; and formed of large rude stones, as in some of our barrows, over which there was then a vast tumulus, or mount of earth, heaped up very high.

And the historian after this goes on, and says (as has hitherto been apprehended) "that the artificers, the la-" bourers, and the girls who were prostituted for hire, con-" structed it, and even to my days are remaining five *termini* " on the top of the sepulchre, having letters inscribed, re-" cording what each had performed; and on a measure-" ment it appeared that the work of the girls was most con-" siderable. The circuit or circumference of this sepulchre " is six stadia and two plethra (that is, little more than three " quarters of a mile,) and the breadth is thirteen plethra."

But in translating the whole in this manner, there seems to be no small difficulty in the word *ουροι*, which is translated termini, or rude boundary stones, and also in the words γραμματα ενεκεκολαπτο, which are translated *letters were inscribed;* for indeed it is only by a particular mode of accenting that Ουρος can ever be put for ὁρος, terminus or fines, a boundary or limit; and much more properly Οὐρός may mean *alveus or fossa*, a *ditch* or *artificial trench*, whilst at the same time, the word ενεκεκολαπτο in reality rather implies that letters or marks were *impressed by being stampt* or beaten in, than by being *inscribed* or *cut*. The expression therefore actually used by Herodotus does not in reality at

except in this prostitution of the young women. They are the first people on record who coined

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all agree with the idea of an inscription being cut on boundary *stones*, or on any *stone monument*, but exactly agrees with that of rude characters or *marks* being stampt or beaten into the side of a dry ditch (perhaps somewhat in the manner that those old memorials the figures of the *white horse*, and of the *white leaf cross*, are formed on the sides of certain chalk-hills in our own country).

Herodotus then expressly says, it appeared by *measuring* that the work of the girls was the greatest; and we may observe it certainly would be so, in every respect, if their ditch was, as it should seem to have been, the outermost of five concentric ones, formed on the summit of this vast barrow.

I should therefore be greatly inclined to translate the words of Herodotus as follows: taking them as they might appear before the invention of *accents*.

"Τθ η κρηπις μεν εστι λιθων μεγαλων, το δε αλλο σημα χωμα γης: εξειργασαντο δε μιν οι αγοραιοι ανθρωποι και οι χειρωνακτες και αι ενεργαζομεναι παιδισκαι. ουροι δε πεντε εοντες ετι και ες εμε ησαν επι τω σηματος ανω και σφι γραμματα ενεκεκολαπτο τα εκαστοι εξεργασαντο. και εφαινετο μετρεομενον το των παιδισκεων εργον εον μεγιστον."

"The bottom part of it was a mass of great stones, but "the rest of the sepulchre a tumulus of earth. The men in "civil life (or who exercised public offices) and the crafts-"men (or mechanics) and the girls who were prostitutes, "reared this sepulchre each class by themselves. And there "were yet existing, even to my days, five ditches (or arti-"ficial trenches) upon the sepulchre, on the upper part, on "which were stampt (or impressed) letters (or characters) "shewing what each set had wrought; and on *measuring* it "appeared that the work of the girls was the greatest."

According to this translation we find this sepulchre was (as Chandler indeed found it to be) a great barrow or artificial hill.

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gold and silver[138] into money, and traded in retail. They claim also the invention of certain games*, which have since been practised among the Grecians, and which, as they say, were first discovered at the time of their sending a colony into Tyrrhenia. The particulars are thus re-

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And according to this translation of the whole, we are farther informed, that it was raised over certain great stones, which immediately covered the bones and ashes; whilst at the top were five great works like ditches or artificial trenches, somewhat in the manner of those of an ancient *high fortress*, surrounding the area on the summit. On the slopes of which ditches were rudely stampt in large characters, certain marks or letters, expressing how much of the work each of the several classes of people had performed.

It may be observed, with due deference to Mr. King, that if those trenches were concentric, there could be no occasion for measuring them. The simplest explanation seems to be, that this tomb was raised not by the manual exertions, but by the contributions of these three classes of people, and that the contribution of the courtesans was the largest. This perhaps may excite the less wonder, when it is considered that the females of Lydia were proverbially celebrated for their elegance and beauty, and their exquisite skill in dancing.

They obtained great celebrity from the performance of one dance in particular, in honour of Bacchus.

[138] *Who coined gold and silver.*]—Who were really the first people that coined gold money, is a question not to be decided. According to some, it was Phidon, king of Argos; according to others, Demodice, the wife of Midas.—*Larcher.*

* See Christie on Ancient Games, p. 33. Dr. Hyde affirms that dice were invented between the time of Homer and Aristophanes. Mr. Christie says, about 600 years before the birth of Christ, they were certainly known to Æschylus.

lated:—In the reign of Atys, the son of Menes, all Lydia was reduced to the severest distress by a scarcity of corn. Against this they contended for a considerable time, by patient and unremitted industry. This not proving effectual, they sought other resources, each one exerting his own genius. Upon this occasion they invented cubes, bowls, and dice, with many other games: of chess, however, the Lydians do not claim the discovery. These they applied as a resource against the effects of the famine[139]. One day they gave themselves so totally to their diversions, as to abstain entirely from food: on the next they refrained from their games, and took their necessary repasts. They lived thus for the space of eighteen years. But when their calamity remitted nothing of its violence, but rather increased, the king divided the whole nation by lot into two parts, one of which was to continue at home, the other to migrate elsewhere. They who staid behind retained their ancient king; the emigrants placed themselves under the conduct of his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. These leaving their coun-

[139] *Against the effects of the famine.*]—That the Lydians may have been the inventors of games, is very probable; that under the pressure of famine, they might detach half their nation to seek their fortune elsewhere, is not unlikely: but that to soften their miserable situation, and to get rid of the sensations of hunger, they should eat only every other day, and that for the space of eighteen years, appears perfectly absurd.—*Larcher.*

try, as had been determined, went to Smyrna, where building themselves vessels for the purpose of transplanting their property and their goods, they removed in search of another residence. After visiting different nations, they arrived at length in Umbria*. Here they built cities, and have continued to the present period, changing their ancient appellation of Lydians, for that of Tyrrhenians[140], after the son of their former sovereign.

XCV. I have before related how these Lydians were reduced under the dominion of Persia. It now becomes necessary to explain who this Cyrus, the conqueror of Crœsus, was, and by what means the Persians obtained the empire of Asia. I shall follow the authority of those Persians, who seem more influenced by a regard to truth, than partiality to Cyrus; I am not ignorant, however, that there are three other narratives[141] of this

* Umbria was also called Etruria; Tuscany is its modern name.

140 *Tyrrhenians.*]—It was these Tyrrhenians, or Etruscans, who taught the Romans their games and combats, in which they excelled, especially in racing with chariots. For the same reason, most of the great number of Etruscan monuments found in Italy relate to sports and games; which confirms what authors say of the Lydians, and of the Etruscans, who are sprung from them.—*Montfaucon.*

141 *Three other narratives.*]—Ctesias, in the fragments of his Persian history, preserved by Photius, differs from Herodotus

monarch.—The Assyrians had been in possession of the Upper Asia for a period of five hundred and twenty years. The Medes first of all revolted from their authority, and contended with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom. Other nations soon followed their example, who, after living for a time under the protection of their own laws, were again deprived of their freedom, upon the following occasion.

XCVI. There was a man among the Medes, of the name of Deioces, son of Phraortes, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised and exercised:—The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deioces was distinguished in his own, by his vigilant and impartial distribution of justice. This he practised in opposition to the general depravity and weakness of the government of his country, and conscious that the profligate and the just must ever be at war with each other. The Medes who lived nearest him, to signify their approbation

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in his account of the origin and exploits of Cyrus. What Xenophon relates in his Cyropædia, is familiar to every one. Æschylus, an author of great antiquity, who fought at Marathon against the troops of Darius, and who was also in the battles of Salamis and Platea, has, in his tragedy, entitled The Persians, followed a different tradition from them all.—*Larcher.*

of his integrity, made him their judge. In this situation, having one more elevated in view, he conducted himself with the most rigid equity. His behaviour obtained the highest applauses of his countrymen; and his fame extending to the neighbouring districts, the people contrasted his just and equitable decisions, with the irregularity of their own corrupt rulers, and unanimously resorted to his tribunal, not suffering any one else to determine their litigations.

XCVII. The increasing fame of his integrity and wisdom constantly augmented the number of those who came to consult him. But when Deioces saw the pre-eminence which he was so universally allowed, he appeared no more on his accustomed tribunal, and declared that he should sit as a judge no longer; intimating, that it was inconsistent for him to regulate the affairs of others, to the entire neglect and injury of his own. After this, as violence and rapine prevailed more than ever in the different districts of the Medes, they called a public assembly to deliberate on national affairs. As far as I have been able to collect, they who were attached to Deioces delivered sentiments to this effect:—"Our present situation is really intolerable, let us therefore elect a king, that we may have the advantage of a regular government, and continue our usual occupations, without any fear or danger of molestation." In

conformity to these sentiments, the Medes determined to have a king.

XCVIII. After some consultation about what person they should choose, Deioces was proposed and elected with universal praise. Upon his elevation he required a palace to be erected for him suitable to his dignity, and to have guards appointed for the security of his person. The Medes, in compliance with his request, built him a strong and magnificent edifice[142] in a situation which he himself chose, and suffered him to appoint his guards from among the whole nation. Deioces, as soon as he possessed the supreme authority, obliged the Medes to build a city, which was to occupy their attention beyond all other places. They obeyed him in this also, and constructed what we now call Ecbatana[143]. Its walls

[142] *Magnificent edifice.*]—This palace was at the foot of the citadel, and about seven furlongs in circumference. The wood work was of cedar or cypress wood: the beams, the ceilings, the columns of the porticoes, and the peristyles, were plated with either gold or silver; the roofs were covered with silver tiles. The whole was plundered about the time of Alexander.—*Larcher.*

[143] *Ecbatana.*]—Mr. Gibbon, whose geographical knowledge deserves great praise and attention, thinks, that Ecbatana was probably in the same situation with the modern Tauris.—The following is from Rennell:

'The city of Ecbatana was unquestionably on or near the site of Hamadan in Al Jebal. A great number of authorities concur in proving this, although many refer to Tauris or Te-

were strong and ample, built in circles one within another, rising each above each by the height of their respective battlements. This mode of building was favoured by the situation of the place,

briz, in Aderbigian; Mr. Gibbon and Sir W. Jones amongst the rest. The authorities are two numerous to be adduced here: we shall only mention that Isidore of Charax places it on the road from Seleucia to Parthia; that Pliny says Susa is equidistant from Seleucia and Ecbatana, and that the capital of Atropatra (Aderbigian) is midway between Artaxata and Ecbatana, and finally, that it lay in the road from Nineveh to Rages or Rey—p. 272.

Dutens, in his learned and ingenious enquiry into the origin of the discoveries attributed to the moderns, brings this among other instances to prove, that the ancients, in magnificence, have never been surpassed, and seldom equalled.—*T.*

Prideaux is of opinion that the Arphaxad mentioned in the book of Judith, was this Deioces.

The following is the Scripture account of Ecbatana:

1. In the twelfth year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, who reigned in Nineve, the great city; in the days of Arphaxad, which reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane,

2. And built in Ecbatane walls round about of stones hewn three cubits broad and six cubits long, and made the height of the wall seventy cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits:

3. And set the towers thereof upon the gates of it, an hundred cubits high, and the breadth thereof in the foundation threescore cubits:

4. And he made the gates thereof, even gates that were raised to the height of seventy cubits, and the breadth of them was forty cubits, for the going forth of his mighty armies, and for the setting in array of his footmen.—Judith, chap. i.

which was a gently rising ground. They did yet more: the city being thus formed of seven circles, the king's palace and the royal treasury stood within the last. The largest of these walls is nearly equal in extent to the circumference of Athens; this is of a white colour, the next to it is black, the next purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange: thus the battlements of each were distinguished by a different colour. The two innermost walls are differently ornamented, one having its battlements plated with silver, the other with gold.

XCIX. Such were the fortifications and the palace which were erected under the direction of Deioces, who commanded the body of the people to fix their habitations beyond the walls which protected his residence. After which he was the first who instituted that kind of pomp, which forbids access to the royal person, and only admits communication with him by intermediate agents, the king himself being never publicly seen*. His edict

* This new ordinance of Dejoces may, to many persons, appear at first sight to have been an introduction of violent tyranny, and of most arbitary power. But perhaps it should rather be considered as having been in reality only a gradual introduction of civilization, and of regular, just government, and as importing little more than what our Norman princes did, when instead of permitting the continuance of the then usual immediate application to the king, in the Aula Regis, his great court, which till that time constantly followed the king's person, Henry the Second appointed two other Courts,

also signified, that to smile or to spit in the king's presence, or in the presence of each other, was an act of indecency[144]. His motive for this conduct

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of King's Bench, and Common Pleas, to be stationary at Westminster, where all applications and proceedings were thenceforth to be by pleadings; and when, in addition to this regulation, judges itinerant were sent on regular circuits, to enquire and take cognizance (or, as Herodotus perhaps would have expressed it, to spy out, and obtain information) of offences and misdemeanours (see Lord Ch. Just. Hale's History of the Common Law, p. 140, 142; Dalrymple, p. 284); for by both the one means and the other, legal processes were regularly instituted, and criminals were duly brought to judgment; and indeed the same sort of steps towards civilization, and on its first dawning, seem to have been taken in France, when the Gallic kings instituted first what were called the Missi Dominici, and afterwards royal cases and appeals. (Henault, vol. ii. p. 892: Essay on the English Constitution and Government, by the Author of this work, 2d edit. p. 75.) And this idea of these regulations of Deioces being rather merely such a kind of useful and beneficial introduction of civilization, seems confirmed by what is farther added by Herodotus, and also by the well-known fact adverted to in the book of Ezra, that Ecbatana actually became the established place of public records in subsequent ages. Ezra, chap. vi. ver. 2. 1 Esdras, chap. vi. ver. 23. King's Munimenta, vol. iii. p. 16.

[144] *An act of indecency.*]—The modern manners of the Orientals bear in many instances a minute conformity to the most ancient accounts of them which are come down to us. The difficulty of approach to the princes and great men of the East, is a circumstance remarked by all modern travellers. The act of spitting, in the East, is much more detestable than we have any conception of. The Arabs never spit before their superiors; and Sir John Chardin tells us,

was the security of his power; thinking, that if he were seen familiarly by those who were educated with him, born with equal pretensions, and not his inferiors in virtue, it might excite their envy, and provoke them to sedition. On the contrary, by his withdrawing himself from observation, he thought their respect for him would be increased.

C. When Deioces had taken these measures to increase the splendour of his situation and the security of his power, he became extremely rigorous in his administration of justice. They who had causes to determine, sent them to him in writing, by his official servants, which, with the decisions upon each, he regularly returned. This was the form which he observed in judiciary matters. His proceeding with regard to penal offences was thus:—Whenever he heard of any injury being perpetrated, and for this purpose he appointed spies and informers in different parts of his dominions, the offender was first brought to his presence, and then punished according to his offence.

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that spitting before any one, or spitting upon the ground in speaking of any one's actions, is, through the East, an expression of extreme detestation.—*T.*

Larcher remarks, that the use of tobacco has rendered the Orientals less punctilious with respect to the circumstance of spitting. Niebuhr informs us, in his description of Arabia, that he has frequently seen the master of a family sitting with a china spitting-pot near him. He at the same time observes, that they do not often spit, although they continue smoking for many hours at a time.

CI. Deioces thus collected the Medes into one nation, over which he ruled: they consisted of the Busæ, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, and the Magi.

CII. Deioces reigned fifty-three years, and at his decease, his son Phraortes succeeded to the throne. Not satisfied with the government of the Medes alone, he singled out the Persians as the objects of his ambition, and reduced them first of all under the dominion of the Medes. Supreme of these two great and powerful nations, he overran Asia, alternately subduing the people of whom it was composed. He came at length to the Assyrians, and proceeded to attack that part of them which inhabited Nineveh[145]. These were formerly the most powerful nation in Asia: their allies at this period had separated from them; but they were still, with regard to their internal strength, respectable. In the twenty-second year of his reign, Phraortes[146], in an excursion against this

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[145] *Nineveh*]—is supposed to be the modern Mousul.—*Pococke.*

[146] *Phraortes.*]—According to Herodotus,

	yrs.
the reign of Deioces was	53
of Phraortes	22
of Cyaxares	12
of the Scythians	28
of Astyages	35
	150

people, perished, with the greater part of his army.

CIII. He was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, grandson of Deioces. He is reported to have been superior to his ancestors in valour, and was the first who regularly trained the Asiatics to military service, dividing them, who had before been promiscuously embodied, into companies of spearmen, cavalry, and archers. He it was who was carrying on war with the Lydians, when the engagement which happened in the day, was suddenly interrupted by nocturnal darkness. Having formed an amicable connection with the different nations of Asia beyond the Halys, he proceeded with all his forces to the attack of Nineveh, being equally desirous of avenging his father, and becoming master of the city. He vanquished the Assyrians in battle; but when he was engaged in the siege of Nineveh, he was surprized by an army of Scythians, commanded by Madyas, son of Protothyas. Having expelled the Cimmerians[147] from Europe, the Scythians had found their way

[147] *Cimmerians.*]—The history of the Scythians is remarkably obscure. Justin, speaking of the incursions of this people into Asia, sometimes coincides with Herodotus, at others materially contradicts him. Strabo makes a slight mention of this expedition of Madyas: but I am ignorant by what authority he makes him king of the Cimmerians; I should rather think a mistake has been here made by some copyist.—*Larcher.*

into Asia*, and, continuing to pursue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.

CIV. From the lake Mæotis an expeditious traveller may pass to the river Phasis among the Colchians, in the space of thirty days†: it requires less time to pass from Colchis into Media, which are only separated by the nation of the Saspirians. The Scythians, however, did not come by this way, but, leaving mount Caucasus on their right, passed through the high country by a much longer route. Here they met with the Medes, who, in a fixed battle, lost not only the victory, but the empire of Asia.

CV. The Scythians having obtained the entire possession of Asia, advanced towards Ægypt. Psammitichus, king of Ægypt, met them in Pa-

* The Gog and Magog of Ezekiel must be understood to be meant for the Scythians who made the above irruption into Media, and even carried their devastations into Palestine, and the borders of Egypt. We are aware that the chronology, as it stands, does not bear us out; but as the prophecies of Ezekiel are allowed to have begun at about 595 years before Christ, and the Scythians to have continued in Western Asia till about 605, it may be conceived that a small error in chronology, and let it be remembered that Sir Isaac Newton has made it appear probable that an error of about 120 years existed in the date of the foundation of Rome, may change the order of the two events. Rennell, p. 111.

† Major Rennell says the distance may be about twenty journeys or days.

lestine of Syria, and, by presents and importunity united, prevailed on them to return. The Scythians, on their march homewards, came to Ascalon, a Syrian city: the greater part of their body passed through without molesting it; but some of them remaining behind, plundered the temple of the celestial Venus. Of all the sacred buildings erected to this goddess, this, according to my authorities, was far the most ancient[149]. The Cyprians themselves acknowledge, that their temple was built after the model of this, and that of Cythera was constructed by certain Phœnicians, who came from this part of Syria. Upon the Scythians who plundered this temple, and indeed upon all their posterity, the deity entailed a fatal punishment: they were afflicted with the female disease[150]. The Scythians themselves con-

149 *Far the most ancient.*]—Pausanias says, that the Assyrians were the first who worshipped Venus Urania. He adds, that the inhabitants of Paphos in Cyprus, and the Phœnicians of Palestine, received this worship from them, and afterwards communicated it to the people of Cythera.—*Wesseling.*

150 *Female disease.*]—No passage of Herodotus has been the occasion of more doubt and dispute than this. The President Bouhier (Dissertat. sur l'Histoire d'Herodote, c. 20.) enumerates these six different opinions, and decides in favour of the last.—Some suppose the female disease to be languor, weakness, and impotence; others, a delicate and effeminate way of living; others, the hemorrhoids; others, the disease now known by the name of venereal; others, the catamenia, τα γυναικεια; and others, the vice against nature. Larcher

fess, that their countrymen suffer this malady in consequence of the above crime: their condition

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refutes Bouhier, but without seeming to have established any opinion of his own. It is probable that he never saw a dissertation of Professor Chr. Gott. Heyne, in the Commentationes Societatis Reg. Gotting. anni M.DCC.L. xx. & T. II. p. 28—44. who proposes another explanation of our author, which has perhaps a fairer chance of success than any of the rest. He takes it for granted, after Mercurialis and Wesseling, that Herodotus and Hippocrates speak of the same thing. He then separates the facts which these authors state, from the superstition of the one, and the ill-founded science or systematic prejudices of the other. From these facts, illustrated by a comparison with the narrations of modern travellers, he draws this conclusion: That the disease called by Herodotus the female disease, was of that kind which proceeds from a melancholic, hysteric, or other nervous affection; in consequence of which a perturbation of the intellect takes place. Among barbarous nations, ignorant of the powers and operations of nature, those disorders whose cause and cure were unknown, it was natural to attribute to divine influence; and the patients finding themselves suddenly and unaccountably bereft of strength, of vigour, and of spirits, might be easily persuaded, by these symptoms, that the displeasure of a deity had inflicted this punishment, and, for some crime or other, had changed them into women. A similar effect of a distempered mind has been common in all ages. Many persons believe themselves transformed into animals or other substances; and while they are subject to this illusion, talk, reason, and act conformably to such belief. If, therefore, this disease appeared chiefly amongst those Scythians who plundered the temple of Venus, it might be sufficient ground for the Scythians themselves to refer such a calamity to the displeasure of a deity; and the nature of the punishment, as well as the consciousness of their crime, would readily point out Venus for the offended power. If the disease appeared soon after the

also may be seen by those who visit Scythia, where they are called Enarcæ.

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plunder of the temple, it might be sufficient ground for an author not quite free from superstition and credulity, to set it down as a judgment from Heaven upon the offenders. Whether the expression in Hippocrates, of τα γυναικηια εργαζονται, ought to be understood in a good or a bad sense, may perhaps admit of a doubt; however, either sense will equally suit the foregoing explanation. It is perfectly natural, and indeed almost necessary, that males who fancy themselves women, should take the dress, adopt the language and manners, and perform the offices of the other sex: nor would it be at all inconsistent with their supposed transformation, that they should think it their duty to be the passive instruments of what would to them seem natural desire.—It should however be remembered, that Heyne speaks of a personal and Herodotus of an entailed disease which was extant in his time. It was probably after all a kind of weakness, which in some places, and particularly in Italy, is known to be hereditary.

The extract which follows on this subject, is taken from Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, p. 299, vol. iii.

The temple of Venus in Phœnice was a school of such sort of debauchery, and therefore destroyed by Constantine.

Lucus hic erat ac delubrum, quod non in media urbe, nec in foro aut plateis positum erat, cujusmodi multa visuntur in civitatibus, ornamenti causa ambitiose constructa, sed devium procul a triviis et publico calle, fœdissimo Dæmoni quem Venerem appellant, in parte verticis Libani montis consecratum. Erat illic schola quædam nequitiæ, omnibus obscænis hominibus, et qui corpus suum omni licentia corruperant, aperta. Quippe effeminati quidam, et feminæ potius dicendi quam viri, sexûs sui gravitate abdicata muliebra patientes, Dæmonem placabant. Adhæc illegitimi concubitus et adulteria, fœdaque et nefaria flagitia eo in templo, tanquam in loco ab omni lege ac rectore vacuo, peragebantur. Euseb. Laud. Const. viii. p. 736.

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CVI. After possessing the dominion of Asia for a space of twenty-eight years, the Scythians lost all they had obtained, by their licentiousness and neglect. The extravagance of their public extortions could only be equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered individuals. At a feast, to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater part of them were cut off when in a state of intoxication. The Medes thus recovered their possessions, and all their ancient importance; after which they took Nineveh; the particulars of which incident I shall hereafter relate[151]. They moreover subdued the Assyrians,

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When Eusebius says θηλειᾳ νοσῳ την δαιμονα ιλεωντο, he borrows this expression from Herodotus, ενεσκηψε ὁ θεος θηλειαν νουσον immisit ipsis Venus morbum femineum, I. 105, p. 44. But θηλεια νουσος in Herodotus means καταμηνια, and they who think that it means something else, or something worse, are mistaken. See the Commentators on Longinus, who greatly admires this modest and polite periphrasis of the historian; and an epistle of Musgrave de hæmorragiis menstruis virorum, in the Philosoph. Trans. 1701, p. 864.

[151] *Hereafter relate.*]—This is one of the passages cited to prove that Herodotus wrote other works which are not come down to us. The investigation of this matter has greatly perplexed and divided the literary world. It is discussed at considerable length by Bouhier and by Larcher, to whose several works we beg leave to refer those who wish to know more of a question which can involve no great interest to an English reader. After all, why should it be supposed that Herodotus actually had written a history, merely because he says he intended to do so?—What follows is from Rennell: Herodotus promises to give the particulars of the capture of

those only excepted which inhabited the Babylonian district. Cyaxares reigned forty years, and

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Nineveh by the Medes: perhaps a description and history of it, likewise; but it no where appears. See Clio, 106.

He mentions Nineveh, however, in several places; particularly in Clio, 102, 103, 178; and Euterpe, 150; but without any description. He speaks of its first siege by Cyaxares; of the raising of that siege by the Scythians of the Mæotis on their irruption in Asia, as before related, page 164. Moreover, he calls it an Assyrian city, the royal residence of Sardanapalus, and speaks of its capture and destruction by the Medes after the retreat of the Scythians.

Both Diodorus and Strabo attribute its foundation to Ninus, king of Assyria. The former, lib. ii. c. 1. describes its form and dimensions to be an oblong figure, 150 stadia by 90; the longest side being parallel to, and at the bank of the Euphrates (Tigris is meant.) He also speaks of its destruction by the Medes.

Strabo (p. 737) says, that it was larger than Babylon which the above dimensions shew, and that it was totally in ruins. From these notices, the first city of Nineveh should have been destroyed in the seventh century before Christ. Its situation is well known to be at the eastern side of the Tigris, opposite the city of Mosul. Strabo places it in the country of Aturia, and Dion Cassius says, lib. lxviii. that Attyria is the same with Assyria, the barbarians having changed the *s* into *t*. Certain it is, that both of the names Assur and Nineveh are now found in that country; and the latter is pointedly applied to the side opposite Mosul, where, according to travellers of the highest authority (Niebuhr amongst the rest), traces of the remains of a city are found; such as mounds of earth, and heaps which indicate the rubbish of buildings, as at Babylon.

It appears remarkable that Xenophon, whose fifth encampment from the Zabates must have been near to, or on its

then died; but in this period is to be included the time in which the Scythians possessed the empire.

CVII. His son Astyages succeeded to the throne: he had a daughter whom he called Mandane; she, in a dream, appeared to make so great a quantity of water[152], that not only his principal city, but all Asia, was overflowed. The purport of this vision, when explained in each particular by the magi, the usual interpreters, terrified him exceedingly. Under this impression, he refused to marry his daughter, when she arrived at a suitable age, to any Mede whose rank justified pretensions to her. He chose rather to give her to Cambyses, a Persian, of a respectable family, but of a pacific disposition, though inferior in his estimation to the lowest of the Medes.

CVIII. The first year after the marriage of his daughter, Astyages saw another vision. A vine

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side; and Alexander, who passed so near it, in his way to the field of Gaugamela (Arbela), should neither of them have taken any notice of its ruins; the former especially, who notes the remains of two cities (Larissa and Mespyla) in his way towards the site of Nineveh, from the Zabates.

According to Tacitus, there was a city named Nineveh, in this quarter, perhaps on the same site, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius.

152 *Quantity of, &c.*]—Voltaire has started some objections to this passage of Herodotus; to which my answer may be seen in the Supplement to the Philosophy of History, page 79. &c. of the first edition; page 104, &c. of the second.—*Larcher.*

appeared to spring from the womb of Mandane, which overspread all Asia. Upon this occasion also he consulted his interpreters: the result was, that he sent for his daughter from Persia, when the time of her delivery approached. On her arrival, he kept a strict watch over her, intending to destroy her child. The magi had declared the vision to intimate, that the child of his daughter should supplant him on his throne. Astyages, to guard against this, as soon as Cyrus was born, sent for Harpagus, a person whose intimacy he used, upon whose confidence he depended, and who indeed had the management of all his affairs. He addressed him as follows: "Harpagus, I am about to use you in a business, in which if you either abuse my confidence, or employ others to do what I am anxious you should do yourself, you will infallibly lament the consequence. You must take the boy of whom Mandane has been delivered, remove him to your own house, and put him to death: you will afterwards bury him as you shall think proper." "Sir," he replied, "you have hitherto never had occasion to censure my conduct; neither shall my future behaviour give you cause of offence: if the accomplishment of this matter be essential to your peace, it becomes me to be faithful and obedient."

CIX. On this reply of Harpagus, the infant was delivered to his arms in rich apparel, and consigned to destruction. Returning home, he sought

with tears the presence of his wife, to whom he related his conference with Astyages. When she enquired what it was his intention to do; "By no means," he answered, "the deed which Astyages enjoins. If he become still more infatuated, more mad than he at present appears, I will not comply with his desires, nor be accessary to this murder. The child is my relation; Astyages is old, and has no male offspring: if, at his decease, the sovereign authority shall descend to this daughter, whose child he orders me to destroy, what extreme danger shall I not incur? It is expedient nevertheless, for my security, that the child should die, not however by the hands of any of my family, but by some other of his servants."

CX. He instantly sent for a herdsman belonging to Astyages, who, as he knew, pursued his occupation in a place adapted to the purpose, amongst mountains frequented by savage beasts. His name was Mitridates; his wife and fellow-servant was, in the Greek tongue, called Cyno, by the Medes Spaco [153]; and Spaca is the name by which the Medes called a bitch. The place

153 *Spaco.*]—It is not certain whether the dialect of the Medes and Persians was the same. In such remains as we have of the Persian language, Burton and Reland have not been able to discover any term like this. Nevertheless Lefevre assures us, that the Hyrcanians, a people in subjection to the Persians, call, even at the present time, a dog by the word Spac.—*Larcher.*

which he frequented with his herds, was the foot of those mountains which lie to the north of Ecbatane, near the Euxine. This part of Media, towards the Saspires, is high and mountainous, and abounding with forests; the rest of the country is a spacious plain. As soon as he arrived in his presence, Harpagus thus addressed him: "Astyages commands you to take this infant[154], and expose him * in the most unfrequented part of the mountains, that his death may be speedy and unavoidable. I am farther ordered to assure you, that if you evade this injunction, and are by any means accessary to his preservation, you must expect torture and death. I am myself commanded to see the child exposed."

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[154] *Take this infant, &c.*]—Various passages in this part of our work will necessarily bring to the mind of our reader the Winter's Tale of Shakespeare. The speech of the king to Antigonus minutely resembles this:

Take it up straight,
Within this hour bring me word 'tis done,
And by good testimony, or I'll seize thy life, &c.—*T.*

* *And expose him.*]—Virgil has placed in the infernal regions, the souls of infants weeping and wailing.

Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo,
Quos dulcis vitæ exortes et ab ubere raptos
Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo.

It is an ingenious conjecture, proposed in the Divine Legation, that the poet might design to discountenance the cursed practice of exposing and murdering infants. See Jortin's 6th Dissertation. Consult also the Letter on the Delicacy of Friendship, republished in the Tracts by a Warburtonian, page 227.

CXI. When the herdsman had received his orders, he took the child, and returned to his cottage. His wife, who had been in labour all the preceding part of the day, was providentially delivered in his absence. Both had been in a state of solicitude: the situation of his wife gave alarm to the husband; and the woman, on her part, feared for him, from the unusual circumstance of his being sent for to Harpagus. His return was sudden and unexpected, and his wife discovered much anxiety to know why Hargagus had sent for him in such haste. "As soon," says he, "as I got into the city, I both saw and heard what I could wish had never befallen the families of our masters: I found the house of Harpagus in extreme affliction; entering which with the greatest terror, I saw an infant panting and screaming on the ground, dressed in rich and splendid clothing. Harpagus, the moment he saw me, commanded me to take the child, and, without any hesitation, expose it on such part of our mountains as is most frequented by wild beasts; telling me, moreover, that Astyages himself had assigned this office to me, and threatening the severest punishment in case of disobedience. I took the child, conceiving it to belong to one of the domestics, never supposing who it really was. The richness, however, of its dress excited my astonishment, which was increased by the sorrow that prevailed in the family of Harpagus. But,

on my return, the servant who, conducting me out of the city, gave the infant to my hand, explained each particular circumstance. He informed me, that it is the offspring of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, and of Cambyses, son of Cyrus. This is the infant whose death Astyages commands."

CXII. The herdsman finished, and produced the child to his wife. Struck with his appearance of beauty and of strength, she embraced the knees of her husband, and conjured him not to expose the child. He observed, that it was impossible to comply with her request, as Harpagus would send to see that his orders were executed, and had menaced him with a most cruel death if he failed in his obedience. The woman not succeeding by this, took another method: "Since," she replied, "you are determined in your purpose, and there will be witnesses to see that the child is in reality exposed, attend to what I propose: I have been delivered of a dead child; let this be exposed, and let us preserve and bring up the grandchild of Astyages as our own. You will thus appear faithful to your superiors, without any injury to ourselves; the child which is dead will be honoured with a sumptuous funeral, and that which survives will be preserved."

CXIII. The man approved of the pertinent proposal of his wife, with which he immediately

complied. The infant, whom he was to have destroyed, he gave to the care of his wife: his own child, which was dead, he placed in the cradle in which the other had been brought, dressed it in the other's costly clothing, and exposed it on a desert mountain. After three days, he left one of his domestics to guard the body, and went again to the house of Harpagus in the city, signifying himself ready to shew that the child was dead. Harpagus sent some upon whose fidelity he could depend, to examine into the matter: they confirmed the report of the herdsman, and the child was buried. The herdsman's child was thus interred; the other, who was afterwards called Cyrus, was brought up carefully by the wife of the herdsman, and called by some other name.

CXIV. When he arrived at the age of ten years, the following accident discovered who he was:—He was playing in the village, where the herds of his supposed father were, with other boys of the same age with himself. Though reputed to be the son of the herdsman, his play-mates chose him for their king. He, in consequence, assigned them their different stations: some were to superintend buildings, others were to be guards; one was to be his principal minister*, another his

* Literally, the king's eye. These metaphorical expressions are still adopted by the Oriental nations. Thus we are told in the Embassy of Major Symes to the Court of

master of the ceremonies; and each had his particular office. Among these children happened to be the son of Artembaris, who was a Mede of considerable distinction. He, refusing to obey the commands of Cyrus, was, at his orders, seized by his playfellows, and severely beaten. The pride of the boy was vehemently offended; and the moment he was at liberty, he hastened to the city to inform his father, how much he had suffered from the insolence of Cyrus. He did not indeed call him Cyrus, which was not then his name; but he described him as the son of the herdsman of Astyages. Artembaris went immediately in great rage to Astyages, taking his son with him. He complained of the indignity which had been offered, and shewed what marks of violence his son had received. "Thus, Sir," says he, "have we been insulted by the son of a herdsman, your slave."

CXV. Astyages, on receiving this complaint, which he observed to be justly founded, was anxious to punish the insult which Artembaris had received; he accordingly sent for the herdsman and his reputed child. On their appearance, Astyages, looking at Cyrus, "Do you," says he,

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Ava, that the introduction to the sovereign was termed the introduction to the "golden feet." To call the king's minister, the eye of the king, is certainly more apposite and happy.

"the son of this mean man, dare to inflict stripes on the son of one of my nobles?" "My lord," says he, in reply, "what I have done I am able to justify; the boys among whom I live, and this with the rest, did, in play, elect me their king, because, as I suppose, I seemed to them the most proper for this situation. Our other playfellows obeyed my commands; this boy refused, and was punished: if on this account you deem me worthy of chastisement, I am here to receive it[155]."

CXVI. As soon as the boy had spoken, Astyages conjectured who he was; every thing concurred to confirm his suspicions; his resemblance of himself, his ingenuous countenance and manners, and the seeming correspondence of his age. Struck by the force of these incidents, Astyages was a long time silent. He recovered himself with difficulty, and wishing to dismiss Artembaris, for the purpose of examining the herdsman without witnesses, "Artembaris," said he, "I will take care that neither you nor your son shall have just reason of complaint." When Artembaris retired, Cyrus was conducted by attendants into some inner room, and the herdsman being left alone with the king, was strictly interrogated

155 None of these particulars of the early life of Cyrus, previous to his being sent to his parents in Persia, are related by Xenophon.—*T.*

whence and from whom he had the child. He replied, that he was his own child, and that his mother was yet alive; Astyages told him, that his indiscretion would only involve him in greater dangers. Saying this, he ordered his guards to seize him. Reduced to this extremity, he explained every particular of the business; and concluded with earnest entreaties for mercy and forgiveness.

CXVII. Astyages, convinced that his herdsman had spoken the truth, felt but little with respect to him; but he was violently incensed against Harpagus, whom he sent for to his presence. As soon as he appeared, "Harpagus," said he, "by what kind of death did you destroy the son of my daughter?" Harpagus saw the herdsman present, and was therefore conscious, that unless he spoke the truth he should be certainly detected. "Sir," he replied, "as soon as I received the infant, I revolved in my mind the best method of satisfying your wishes, and of preserving myself innocent of the crime of murder, both with respect to your daughter and yourself: I determined, therefore, to send for this herdsman, and delivering to him the child, I informed him that it was your command that he should put him to death; in this I used no falsehood, for such were your commands. I farther enjoined him to expose the infant on a desert mountain, and

to be himself the witness of his death, threatening him with the severest punishment in case of disobedience. When he had fulfilled his commission, and the child was dead, I sent some of the most confidential of my eunuchs to witness the fact, and to bury the body. This, Sir, is the real truth, and the child was thus destroyed."

CXVIII. Harpagus related the fact without prevarication; but Astyages, dissembling the anger which he really felt, informed him of the confession of the herdsman; and finished his narration in these words, "the child is alive, and all is well: I was much afflicted concerning the fate of the boy, and but ill could bear the reproaches of my daughter. But as the matter has turned out well, you must send your son to our young stranger, and attend me yourself at supper. I have determined, in gratitude for the child's preservation, to celebrate a festival in honour of those deities who interposed to save him."

CXIX. Harpagus, on hearing this, made his obeisance to the king, and returned cheerfully to his house, happy in the reflection that he was not only not punished for his disobedience, but honoured by an invitation to the royal festival. As soon as he arrived at his house, he hastily called for his only son, a boy of about thirteen, ordering him to hasten to the palace of Astyages, and to

comply with whatever was commanded him. He then related to his wife, with much exultation, all that had happened. As soon as the boy arrived, Astyages commanded him to be cut in pieces, and some part of his flesh to be roasted, another part boiled, and the whole made ready to be served at table. At the hour of supper, among other guests, Harpagus also attended. Before the rest, as well as before Astyages himself, dishes of mutton were placed, but to Harpagus all the body of his son was served, except the head and the extremities, which were kept apart in a covered basket. After he seemed well satisfied with what he had eaten, Astyages asked him how he liked his fare: Harpagus expressing himself greatly delighted, the attendants brought him the basket which contained the head and extremities of his child, and desired him to help himself to what he thought proper. Harpagus complied, uncovered the vessel, and beheld the remains of his son[156]. He continued, however, master of himself, and discovered no unusual emotion. When Astyages enquired if he knew of what flesh and of what

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[156] *The remains of his son.*]—A similar example of revenge occurs in Titus Andronicus.

Titus. Why, there they are, both baked in that pie,
Whereof their mother daintily hath fed;
Eating the flesh that she herself hath bred.—*T.*

For other instances of similar barbarity, see H. Stevens's Apology for Herodotus, chap. 19, de la Cruauté de nostre Siècle.—*T.*

wild beast he had eaten, he acknowledged that he did, and that the king's will was always pleasing to him[157]. Saying this, he took the remnants of the body, and returned to his house, meaning, as I should suppose, to bury them together.

CXX. Astyages thus revenged himself upon Harpagus; but deliberating about the destiny of Cyrus, he sent for the magi who had before interpreted his dreams. On their appearance, he requested to know their sentiments of the vision he had formerly explained to them. They persevered in their former declaration, that if the boy survived he would infallibly be king. "The boy is alive and well," returned Astyages: "the children of the village where he lived elected him their king, and he has actually performed all the essential duties of the regal office. He appointed his guards, his messengers, and different attendants, and in all respects exercised kingly authority: concerning this, what do you determine?"

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[157] *Pleasing to him.*]—This reply of Harpagus, worthy of a servile courtier, brings to mind one of an English nobleman no less despicable. Edgar, king of England, having killed Ethelwold, in the forest of Harewood, the son of that nobleman arrived soon afterwards on the spot; the king, shewing him the body of his father, asked him, how he found the game? The young man replied with perfect indifference, "That whatever was agreeable to the prince, could not possibly displease him." The above anecdote is related by Larcher from William of Malmesbury.

"If," answered the magi, "the boy really survives, and has reigned as a monarch, in the accidental manner you describe, rely upon this, and dissipate your fears; depend upon it he will reign no more: things of trifling moment frequently accomplish what we seriously foretel, and dreams in particular will often prove of little or no importance." "I confess," replied Astyages, "that I am of the same opinion; the boy having been nominally a king, has fulfilled the purport of my dream, and I need alarm myself no more about him. Do not you, however, remit your assiduity, but consult both for my security and your own." "Sir," answered the magi, "it is of particular importance to us, that your authority should continue, it might otherwise descend to this boy, who is a Persian; in that case we, who are Medes, shall be reduced to servitude; the Persians would despise us as foreigners; but whilst you, who are our countryman, reign over us, we enjoy some degree of authority ourselves, independent of the honours we receive from you. For these reasons we are particularly bound to consult for your safety, and the permanence of your power. If any thing excited our apprehensions of the future, we would certainly disclose it: but as your dream has had this trifling termination, we feel great confidence ourselves, and recommend you to send the child from your presence to his parents in Persia."

CXXI. On hearing this, Astyages was rejoiced; and sending for Cyrus, "My child," said he, "I was formerly induced, by the imperfect representation of a dream, to treat you cruelly, but your better genius preserved you. Go, therefore, in peace, to Persia, whither I shall send proper persons to conduct you; there you will see your parents, who are of a very different rank from the herdsman Mitridates and his wife."

CXXII. Astyages having thus spoken, sent Cyrus away; on his being restored to the house of his parents, they, who had long since thought him dead, received him with tenderness and transport. They enquired by what means he had been preserved; he told them in reply, that he was entirely ignorant of his birth, and had been involved in much perplexity, but that every thing had been explained to him on his journey to them. He had really believed himself the son of the herdsman of Astyages, before his conductors explained to him the particulars of his fortune. He related with what tenderness he had been brought up by the wife of the herdsman, whose name, Cyno, he often repeated with the warmest praise. The circumstance of her name his parents laid hold of to persuade the Persians that Providence had, in a particular manner, interposed to save Cyrus, who, when exposed, had been preserved

and nourished by a bitch[158]—which opinion afterwards prevailed.

CXXIII. As Cyrus grew up, he excelled all the young men in strength and gracefulness of person[159]. Harpagus, who was anxious to be revenged on Astyages, was constantly endeavouring to gain an interest with him, by making him presents. In his own private situation he could have but little hope of obtaining the vengeance he desired; but seeing in Cyrus, when a man, one whose fortunes bore some resemblance to his own, he much attached himself to him. He had, some time before, taken the following measure:—Astyages having treated the Medes with great asperity, Harpagus took care to communicate with the men of the greatest consequence among them, endeavouring, by his insinuations, to promote the elevation of Cyrus, and the deposition of his master. Having thus prepared the way, he contrived the following method of acquainting Cyrus in Persia with his own private sentiments, and the state of affairs. The communication betwixt the two countries being strictly

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158 *By a bitch, &c.*]—The story of Romulus, Remus, and the wolf, involves many circumstances similar to these related of Cyrus.—*T.*

159 *Gracefulness of person.*]—The beauty and gracefulness of Cyrus, is particularly, and with much energy, dwelt on by Xenophon.—*T.*

guarded, he took a hare, opened its paunch, in which he inserted a letter, containing the information he wished to give, and then dexterously sewed it up again. The hare, with some hunting nets, he entrusted to one of his servants of the chase, upon whom he could depend. The man was sent into Persia, and ordered to deliver the hare to Cyrus himself, who was entreated to open it with his own hands, and without witnesses.

CXXIV. The man executed his commission; Cyrus received the hare, which having opened as directed, he found a letter to the following purport: "Son of Cambyses, Heaven evidently favours you, or you never could have risen thus superior to fortune. Astyages meditated your death, and is a just object of your vengeance; he certainly determined that you should perish; the gods and my humanity preserved you. With the incidents of your life I believe you are acquainted, as well as with the injuries which I have received from Astyages, for delivering you to the herdsman, instead of putting you to death. Listen but to me, and the authority and dominions of Astyages shall be yours: first prevail upon the Persians to revolt, and then undertake an expedition against the Medes. If I shall be appointed by Astyages the leader of the forces which oppose you, our object will be instantly accomplished, which I may also venture to affirm of

each of our first nobility; they are already favourable to your cause, and wait but the opportunity of revolting from Astyages. All things being thus prepared, execute what I advise without delay."

CXXV. Cyrus, on receiving this intelligence, revolved in his mind what would be the most effectual means of inducing the Persians to revolt. After much deliberation, he determined on the following stratagem: He dictated the terms of a public letter, and called an assembly of his countrymen. Here it was produced and read, and it appeared to contain his appointment by Astyages to be general of the Persians: "And now," O Persians," he exclaimed, "I must expect each of you to attend me with an hatchet." There are many tribes of the Persians: certain of these Cyrus assembled, and persuaded to revolt from the Medes. These are they upon which all the other Persians depend, namely, the Pasargadæ, the Maraphii, and the Maspii: Of these, the Pasargadæ are the most considerable; the Achæmenidæ are those from whom the Persian monarchs are descended. The Panthialæi, Derusiæi, and Germanians[160], follow labo-

160 *Germanians.*]—The Germanians are the same as the Caramanians. Some authors affirm the ancient Germans to

rious employments; the Dai, Mardi, Dropici, and Sagartians, are feeders of cattle.

CXXVI. They all assembled in the manner they were commanded, and Cyrus directed them to clear, in the space of a day, a certain woody enclosure, which was eighteen or twenty furlongs in extent. When they had executed their task, they were desired to attend the following day to feast and make merry. For this purpose Cyrus collected and slew all the goats, sheep, and oxen, which were the property of his father; and farther to promote the entertainment of the Persians, he added rich wines and abundance of delicacies. The next day, when they were met, he desired them to recline on the grass and enjoy themselves. When they were satisfied, he enquired of them which day's fare delighted them the most; They replied, the contrast betwixt the two was strong indeed, as on the first day they had nothing but what was bad, on the second every thing that was good. On receiving this answer, Cyrus no longer hesitated to explain the purpose which he had in view: "Men of Persia," he exclaimed,

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have been descended from this people. Cluvier has with much politeness explained their mistake. "But," adds M. Wesseling, "there are some individuals of such wayward tempers, who, since the discovery of corn, still prefer the feeding upon acorns."—*Larcher.*

" your affairs are thus circumstanced; if you obey me, you will enjoy these and greater advantages, without any servile toils: if you refuse what I propose, you must prepare to encounter worse hardships than those of yesterday. By following my advice you will obtain liberty: Providence appears to have reserved me to be the instrument of your prosperity; you are, doubtless, equal to the Medes in every thing, and most assuredly are as brave: this being the case, immediately revolt from Astyages."

CXXVII. The Persians, who had long spurned at the yoke imposed on them by the Medes, were glad of such a leader, and ardently obeyed the call of liberty. Astyages was soon informed of the proceedings of Cyrus, and commanded his attendance. He returned for answer, that he should probably anticipate the wish of Astyages to see him. Astyages upon this collected the Medes, and, urged by some fatal impulse, appointed Harpagus to command his forces, not remembering the injury he formerly had done him. His army was embodied, the Medes met and engaged the Persians; they who were not privy to the plot fought with valour, the rest went over to the Persians; the greater part discovered no inclination to continue the combat, and hastily retreated.

CXXVIII. Astyages hearing of the ignominious defeat of his army, continued to menace Cyrus; and exclaimed, that he should still have no reason to exult. The first thing he did was to crucify the magi [161], the interpreters of dreams, who had prevailed upon him to send Cyrus away. He then armed all his citizens, young and old, without distinction. He led them against the Persians, and was vanquished [162]: he himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his army destroyed.

CXXIX. In his captivity, Harpagus was present to insult and reproach him. Among other things, he asked him what was his opinion of that supper, in which he had compelled a father to feed on the flesh of his child, a supper which had reduced him from a monarch to a slave. In reply, Astyages requested to know if he imputed to

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161 *Crucify the magi.*]—It appears from the sacred writings, that when the magi either were not able to interpret dreams or explain difficulties to the satisfaction of their tyrant masters, they were with little compunction condemned to die. See in particular the book of Daniel. The cruelty of Astyages is spoken of in the common-place-book De Virtutibus & Vitiis, which was made by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, from the works of Diodorus Siculus.

162 *Was vanquished.*]—Xenophon represents Cyrus as succeeding of course, and without any hostilities, to the throne of Astyages.—*T.*

himself the success of Cyrus? He confessed that he did, explained the means, and justified his conduct. Astyages told him, that he was then the most foolish and wicked of mankind;—most foolish in acquiring for another the authority he might have enjoyed himself; most wicked, for reducing his countrymen to servitude, to gratify his private revenge. If he thought a change in the government really necessary, and was still determined not to assume the supreme authority himself, justice should have induced him to have raised a Mede to that honour, rather than a Persian. The Medes, who were certainly not accessary to the provocation given, had exchanged situations with their servants; the Persians, who were formerly the servants, were now the masters.

CXXX. After a reign of thirty-five years, Astyages was thus deposed. To his cruelty of temper the Medes owed the loss of their power, after possessing, for the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years, all that part of Asia which lies beyond the Halys, deducting from this period the short interval of the Scythian dominion. In succeeding times, being dissatisfied with their condition, they took up arms against Darius; their attempt proved unsuccessful, and they were a second time reduced to servitude. From this period the Persians, who, under the conduct of Cyrus, had shaken off the power of the Medes, remained in

undisturbed possession of Asia. Cyrus detained Astyages in captivity for the remainder of his life, but in no other instance[163] treated him with severity.—Such is the history of the birth, education, and success of Cyrus. He afterwards, as I have before related, subdued Crœsus, who had attacked him unjustly; from which time he remained without a rival, sovereign of Asia.

CXXXI. I speak from my own knowledge when I say that the Persians observe the following manners and customs: They have among them neither statues[164], temples[165], nor altars[166], the

[163] *But in no other instance, &c.*]—Isocrates, in his funeral oration upon Evagoris, king of Salamis, in Cyprus, says, that Cyrus put Astyages to death. I do not find this asserted by any other author.—*Larcher.*

[164] *Neither statues.*]—It is proper to remark here, that the more ancient nations were not worshippers of images. Lucian tells us, that the ancient Ægyptians had no statues in their temples. According to Eusebius, the Greeks were not worshippers of images before the time of Cecrops, who first erected a statue to Minerva. And Plutarch tells us that Numa forbad the Romans to represent the Deity under the form of a man or an animal; and for seventy years this people had not in their temples any statue or painting of the Deity.—*Larcher.*

The symbols used by the ancients of their respective deities, were stones of different shapes. A round stone represented the sun, thence styled Alagabalus Deus rotundus; Bochart and Selden. A little polished stone represented the earth, thence Cybele was called Agditis and Agdistes. A square rude stone was Bacchus; the Caaba of the Arabs.

[For notes [165] and [166], see next page.] Arno-

use of which they censure as impious, and as a gross violation of reason, probably because, in opposition to the Greeks, they do not believe that the gods partake of our human nature. Their custom is, to offer, on the summits of the highest mountains[168], sacrifices to Jove, distinguishing by that appellation all the expanse of the firmament. They also adore the sun[169], the moon, earth,

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Arnobius says, that Cybele was represented by a small stone of a dark and black colour. See also Prudentius peri Steph.

Lapis *nigellus* evehendus essedo
Muliebris oris clausus argento sedet, &c.

165 *Temples.*]—I am not of opinion with the Persian magi, at whose instigation Xerxes burned the temples of the Greeks, because they confined their deities by walls, who ought to be free from every kind of restraint, and whose temple and residence was the universe itself.—*Cicero.*

166 *Nor altars.*]—The theology of Zoroaster was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples; but the most careless observers were struck with the philosophic simplicity of the Persian worship.—*Gibbon.*

168 *Summits of the highest mountains.*]—Van Dale remarks, that the oracular temples were, for the most part, situated in mountainous places. The Scriptures also intimate, that mountains and high places were chosen as the properest theatres for the display of religious enthusiasm. See Deuteronomy, xii. 2, 3. Ye shall utterly destroy the places wherein the nations served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree, &c. &c.—*T.*

169 *Sun—fire.*]—The worship of the ancient Persians had unquestionably been very early corrupted. The reverence paid to the sun and to fire, which Zoroaster appears to have considered merely as representatives of Omnipotence, the

fire[170], water, and the winds; which may be termed their original deities. In after-times, from the example of the Assyrians and Arabians, they added Urania* to this number. The name of the Assyrian Venus is Mylitta, whom the Arabians called Alitta, and the Persians Mithra.

CXXXII. Their mode of paying their devotions to the above-mentioned deities, is this; they use neither altars nor fire, libations nor instrumental music, garlands nor consecrated cakes; but every individual, as he wishes to sacrifice to any particular divinity, conducts his victim to a place made clean for the purpose, and makes his invocation or his prayers with a tiara encircled generally with myrtle. The supplicant is not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone[171],

fountain of light, seems to have been an idea too refined for the gross capacities of the vulgar, who, without regard to the great invisible prototype, turned all their thoughts to the adoration of those ostensible deities.—*Richardson.*

[170] *Fire.*]—The ancient Persians durst not, by their religion, extinguish fire with water; but endeavoured to smother it with earth, stones, or any thing similar. This method would not soon extinguish a blazing forest. The Parsis of Guzerat are still guided by the same hurtful superstition.—*The same.*

* *Urania.*]—That is, the Uranian or celestial Venus, not the muse Urania.—*T.*

[171] *Not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone.*]—This noble sentiment is thus beautifully expressed by Pope:

God loves from whole to parts, but human soul
Must rise from individuals to the whole:

his whole nation, and particularly his sovereign, have a claim to his prayers, himself being necessarily comprehended with the rest. He proceeds to divide his victim[172] into several minute parts, which, when boiled, he places upon the most delicate verdure he can find, giving the preference to trefoil. When things are thus prepared, one of the magi, without whose presence no sacrifice is deemed lawful, stands up and chants the primæval origin of the gods, which they suppose to have a sacred and mysterious influence. The worshipper after this takes with him, for his own use, such parts of the flesh as he thinks proper.

CXXXIII. But beyond all other days, every one pays more particular regard to that of his birth, when they indulge themselves with better fare than usual. They who are richest, prepare on this day an ox, a horse, a camel, or an ass, which are roasted whole; the poorer sort are satisfied with a lamb or a sheep: they eat but sparingly of meat, but are fond of the after dishes,

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Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds,
Another still, and still another spreads;
Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race.

Pope's Essays.

172 *Divide his victim.*]—The ceremony of the Persian sacrifice is related at length, but with some trifling variations, by Strabo.—*T.*

which are separately introduced. From hence the Persians take occasion to say, that the Grecians leave their tables unsatisfied, having nothing good to induce them to continue there—if they had, they would eat more. Of wine [173] they drink profusely: they may neither vomit nor make water before any one; which customs they still observe. They are accustomed to deliberate on matters of the highest moment when warm with wine; but whatever they in this situation may determine, is again proposed to them on the morrow, in their cooler moments, by the person in whose house they had before assembled. If at this time also it shall meet their approbation, it is executed, otherwise it is rejected. Whatever, also, they discuss when sober, is always a second time examined after they have been drinking.

CXXXIV. If they meet at any time by accident, the rank of each party is easily discovered: if they are of equal dignity, they salute each other on the mouth; if one is an inferior, they only kiss the cheek; if there be a great difference in situa-

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[173] *Of wine, &c.*]—In every age the Persians have been addicted to intemperance; and the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mahomet.—*Gibbon.* In contradiction to the above observation, it appears from Xenophon, that the Persians, in the early period of their history, were a temperate and sober people. But that, in the time of Herodotus, they drank profusely, is confirmed by Plato.—*T.*

tion, the inferior falls prostrate on the ground[174]. They treat with most respect those who live nearest to them; as they become more and more remote, their esteem of each other diminishes; for those who live very distant from them, they entertain not the smallest regard: esteeming themselves the most excellent of mankind, they think that the value of others must diminish in proportion to their distance. During the empire of the Medes, there was a regular gradation of authority; the Medes governed the whole as well as their immediate neighbours, but these were superior to those contiguous to them, who again held the next nation in subjection; which example the Persians followed when their dominions became extended, and their authority increased.

CXXXV. The Persians are of all men most inclined to adopt foreign manners: thinking the dress of the Medes more becoming than their own, they wear it in preference. They use also, in their armies, the Ægyptian breast-plate: they discover

174. *Falls prostrate on the ground.*]—Our countryman Sandys observes, that the modern mode of salutation betwixt equals in the East, is by laying the right hand on the bosom, and gently declining the body; but when a person of great rank is saluted, they bow to the ground, and kiss the hem of his garment. Upon this subject consult also Pococke and Shaw. The Syro-Phœnician woman fell at the feet of Jesus. Quintus Curtius relates of Alexander the Great, that when he returned from the conquest of Asia, he disdained the manners of his country, and suffered those who approached his person to lie prostrate on the ground before him.—*T.*

an ardour for all pleasures of which they have heard; a passion for boys [175] they learned from the Greeks, and each man has many wives, but many more concubines *.

[175] *Passion for boys.*]—How, says Pluturch, in his discourse on the malignity of Herodotus, could the Persians possibly have learned this vice of the Greeks? It is universally acknowledged that the custom of castrating young men was common amongst the Persians, long before they visited the coasts of Greece.

Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, has been at some pains to prove, that in all probability the plain upon which the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah stood, was somewhere in the south of Persia.

That this vice was of very great antiquity in Greece, appears from a passage of Phanocles, preserved in Stobæus, which informs us, that the Thracian women put Orpheus to death, on account of his unnatural passion for a young man of the name of Calais.

> Ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor, amorem
> In teneros transferre mares, citraque juventam
> Ætatis breve ver, et primos carpere flores.
>
> *Ovid. Met.* x. 83.

But the total silence of Homer may perhaps furnish a reasonable presumption against the antiquity of this detestable vice.—*T.*

* As Herodotus gives no account of the Persian forms of marriage, the following extract from Arrian, which represents the marriage of Alexander and some of his generals to Persian ladies, in the Persian manner, may not be unentertaining. Alexander now turned his mind to the celebration of his own and his friends nuptials at Susa. He himself married Barsine, the eldest daughter of Darius; and in all, eighty daughters of the most illustrious nobility, Persians as well as Medes, were united to as many of Alexander's friends. The nuptials were celebrated in the Persian manner. Seats were placed for those men who were about to be married, according to their rank. After a banquet the ladies were

CXXXVI. Next to valour in the field, a man is esteemed in proportion to the number of his offspring[176]; to him who has the greater number of children, the king sends presents every year; their national strength depending, as they suppose, on their numbers. From their fifth[177], to their twentieth year, they instruct their children in three things only, the art of the bow, horsemanship[178], and a strict regard to truth. Till

introduced, and each sate down by the side of her husband, who each, beginning with Alexander himself, took the right hand of his bride, and kissed her. All observed this ceremony, and then each man retired with his wife.

176 *Number of his offspring.*]— A numerous posterity is, at the present day, the most fervent wish of the female inhabitants of Ægypt. Public respect is annexed to fruitfulness. This is even the prayer of the poor, who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow.—*Savary.*

Without any exaggeration, all the women of my acquaintance have twelve or thirteen children; and the old ones boast of having had five-and-twenty or thirty a-piece, and are respected according to the number they have produced.—*Letters of Lady M. W. Montague from Constantinople.*

Sterility is a reproach among the Orientals, and they still retain for fecundity all the esteem of ancient times.—*Volney.*

The same commendation of fertility seems to be implied in Scripture, Judges, xii. 14. by the enumeration of Abdon's sons and grandsons.—*T.*

177 *From their fifth, &c.*]—This account of Persian education differs from that given by Xenophon.

178 *Horsemanship.*]—This, in the time of Cyrus, did not constitute a part of Persian education. The Persians, at that period, inhabiting a country mountainous, and without pasturage, could not breed horses; but as soon as they had conquered a country suitable to this purpose, they learned the art of horsemanship; and Cyrus made it be considered

his fifth year a boy is kept in the female apartments, and not permitted to see his father: the motive of which is, that if the child die before this period, his death may give no uneasiness to the father.

CXXXVII. This appears commendable: I cannot but think highly of that custom also, which does not allow even the sovereign to put any one to death for a single offence; neither from any one provocation; is a Persian permitted to exercise extreme severity in his family. Severity is there only lawful, when, after careful examination, the offences are found to exceed the merits. They will not believe that any one ever killed his parent: when such accidents have apparently happened, they assert their belief, that the child would, on enquiry, be found either to have been the produce of adultery, or spurious; conceiving it altogether impossible, that any real parent can be killed by his own offspring.

CXXXVIII. Whatever they may not do, they must not even mention. They hold falsehood in the greatest abhorrence [179]; next to which they esteem

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as a disgraceful thing, that any person to whom he had presented a horse should go any where on foot, even to the smallest distance.—*Larcher.*

179 *Falsehood in the greatest abhorrence.*]—The Persians were not always so scrupulous about falsehood; see Herodotus, book iii. and lxxii.—*Larcher.*

it disgraceful to be in debt, as well for other reasons, as for the temptations to falsehood [180], which they think it necessarily introduces. A leprous [181] Persian must neither enter the city, nor have communication with any of his countrymen; this disease they always think occasioned by some offence committed against the sun [182]. If a foreigner is afflicted with it, he is tumultuously expelled the country. They have also, for the same reason, an aversion to white pigeons. They pay extreme veneration to all rivers [183]; they will neither spit, wash their hands, nor evacuate in any of them; nor will they allow a stranger to do so.

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180 *Temptations to falsehood.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the contraction of debts, represents this differently. The Persians, says he, esteem falsehood as a secondary crime, the first is running in debt.—*T.*

181 *A leprous, &c.*]—Persons afflicted with leprosy are still kept secluded in many places of the East. See Niebuhr's Description of Arabia.

See too the Mosaical prohibition concerning lepers, Numbers, chap. v. ver. 4.—*T.*

182 *Against the sun.*]—When Æschines touched at Delos, on his way to Rhodes, the inhabitants of that island were greatly incommoded by a species of leprosy, called the white leprosy. They imputed it to the anger of Apollo, because, in contradiction to the custom of the place, they had interred there the body of a man of rank.—*Larcher.*

183 *To all rivers.*]—The ancient Cuthites, and the Persians after them, had a great veneration for fountains and streams, which also prevailed among other nations, so as to have been at one time almost universal. If these rivers were attended

CXXXIX. They have one peculiarity, which, though they are not aware of it themselves, is notorious to us; all those words which are expressive of personal or of any other distinction, terminate in the Doric san, which is the same with the Ionic sigma: and attentive observation will further discover, that all the names of Persians [184] end without exception alike.

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with any nitrous or saline quality, or with any fiery eruption, they were adjudged to be still more sacred.—*Bryant.*

What boots you now Scamander's worshipp'd stream,
His earthly honours, and immortal name?
In vain your immolated bulls are slain,
Your living coursers glut his gulphs in vain. *Pope*, Il. xxi.

This veneration for rivers seems to have been almost universal. The Ægyptians paid divine honours to the Nile, which appears not only from Herodotus, but more particularly from Plutarch. See his Treatise on the Isis and Osiris; as also Maximus Tyrius and Heliodorus. Achilles in Homer offers his hair to the Sperchius.

But great Achilles stands apart in prayer,
And from his head divides the yellow hair;
These curling locks which from his youth he vow'd,
And sacred grew to Sperchius' honour'd flood,
Then sighing, to the deep his locks he cast, &c.—*T.*

That the same superstitious veneration for rivers continues among unenlightened nations, appears in a passage from Horneman, the last traveller into the interior of Africa: —"Not long ago the same custom was observed at Bornou as in ancient times at Cairo; a girl very richly dressed was thrown into the river Niger."

184 *Names of Persians.*]—The language spoken anciently in Persia, opens a wide field for unsatisfactory enquiry. Dr. Hyde derives it from that of Media: which is much the same as deducing one jargon of the Saxon heptarchy from another. The union of those people named by Europeans the Medes

CXL. The above remarks are delivered without hesitation, as being the result of my own personal knowledge. They have other customs, concerning which, as they are of a secret nature, I will not pretend to express myself decisively: as to what relates to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true, that these never are interred till some bird or dog has discovered a propensity to prey on them. This, however, is unquestionably certain of the magi, who publicly observe this custom. The Persians first enclose the dead body in wax[155].

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and Persians, is of such high antiquity, that it is lost in darkness, and long precedes every glimmering we can discover of the origin of their speech. *Richardson on Eastern Nations.*

[155] *In wax.*]—Bodies thus enclosed continue perfect for ages. Some gentlemen of the Society of Antiquaries being desirous to see how far the actual state of Edward the First's body answered to the methods taken to preserve it, by writs issued from time to time, in the reigns of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth, to the Treasury, *to renew the wax about it*, obtained permission to inspect it. It was found entire, May 2d, 1774. The body must have been preserved above three centuries and a half, in the state in which it was then found.—See the Archæologia, v. iii. p. 376.

The magi, for a long time, retained the exclusive privilege of having their bodies left as a prey to carnivorous animals. In succeeding times, the Persians abandoned all corpses indiscriminately to birds and beasts of prey.

This custom still in part continues; the place of burial of the Guebres, at the distance of half a league from Ispahan, is a round tower made of free-stone: it is thirty-five feet in height, and ninety in diameter, without gate or any kind of entrance; they ascend it by a ladder. In the midst of the tower is a kind of trench, into which the bones are thrown. The bodies are ranged along the wall in their proper clothes,

and afterwards place it in the ground. Their magi are different from all other men, as well as from the Ægyptian priests. These last think it essential to their sanctity, to destroy no animals but the victims of sacrifice. The magi except a man and a dog, but put other animals without compunction to death. They even think it an action highly meritorious to destroy serpents, ants[186], and the different species of reptiles. After this digression, I return to my former subject.

CXLI. The Ionians and Æolians, after the conquest of Lydia by the Persians, immediately dispatched ambassadors to Sardis, requesting Cyrus to receive them under his allegiance, upon the terms which Crœsus had formerly granted them. Cyrus gave them audience, and made

upon a small couch, with bottles of wine, &c. The ravens, which fill the cemetery, devour them.—*Chardin.* This is also the case at present with the Guebres at Surat, as well as at Bombay.

[186] *Serpents, ants, &c.*]—This, says Larcher, is a precept of the Sadder. The learned Dr. Hyde considers the Sadder as fragments of the works of Zoroaster, the great Persian legislator. Upon this subject it may not be amiss to introduce the opinion of Mr. Richardson. The Sadder, says he, are the wretched rhymes of a modern Parsi destour [priest] who lived about three centuries ago. From this work, therefore, we cannot have even the glimpse of an original tongue, nor any thing authentic of the genius of the lawgiver.—*T.*

Chardin informs us, that the Guebres, or ancient fire-worshippers of Persia, deem it meritorious to put insects of all kinds to death.—*T.*

them the following reply: "A certain piper, observing some fishes sporting in the sea, began to play to them, in hopes that they would voluntarily throw themselves on shore; disappointed in his expectations, he threw his nets, enclosed a great number, and brought them to land; seeing them leap about, "You may be quiet now," says he, "as you refused to come out to me when I played to you."—Cyrus was induced to return this answer to the Ionians and Æolians, because the Ionians had formerly disregarded his solicitations to withdraw their assistance from Crœsus, refusing all submission to Cyrus, till they were compelled by necessity to make it. This reply, therefore, of Cyrus was evidently dictated by resentment; which as soon as the Ionians had received, they fortified their towns, and all of them assembled at Panionium, except the Milesians: Cyrus had received these into his alliance, upon the conditions which they had formerly enjoyed from Crœsus. The general determination of the Ionians, was to send ambassadors to Sparta, who were in their common name to supplicate assistance.

CXLII. These Ionians, who are members of the Panionium, enjoy beyond all people whom I have known purity of air[187] and beauty of situa-

[187] *Purity of air.*]—These advantages of situation, and of climate, which the Ionians enjoyed, are enumerated by many

tion; the country above and below them, as well as those parts which lie to the east and west, being in every respect less agreeable. Some of them are both cold and moist; others parched by the extremity of the heat. Their language possesses four several distinctions. Miletus[188] is their first city towards the south, next to which are Myus and Priene; all these are situate in Caria, and use the same language. In Lydia are the cities of Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, which have a dialect peculiar to themselves. There are three other cities properly called Ionian; two of these, Samos and Chios, are situated in islands; the other, Erythræ, is on the continent. The Chians and Erythræans speak alike; the Samian tongue is materially different. These are the four variations of language to which I alluded.

CXLIII. Of these Ionians, the Milesians were induced to court the friendship of Cyrus, from apprehensions of his power. The islanders had but little cause of fear, for the Persians had not yet

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ancient writers. This people, unable to defend themselves (says the Abbé Barthelemy) against the Persians, consoled themselves for the loss of their liberties in the bosom of voluptuousness and the cultivation of the arts.—*T.*

188 *Miletus, &c.*]—For a particular account of the modern names and circumstances of these Ionian cities, consult Chandler and Pococke. Miletus was the birth-place of Thales, Clazomenæ of Anaxagoras, Ephesus of Parrhasius, Colophon of Xenophanes, Teos of Anacreon.—*T.*

subdued the Phœnicians, and were themselves ignorant of maritime affairs. The general imbecility of Greece, and the small importance of the Ionians in particular, were their motives for separating themselves from the body of that nation, of which they constituted a part; Athens, of all the Grecian cities, being the only one of any distinction. The appellation of Ionians was for this reason disdained by the Athenians, and by some other Ionians, which prejudice does not yet appear to be obliterated. In opposition to this, the above twelve cities are proud of the name, and have in consequence erected a sacred edifice, which they call the Panionium[189]. They determined to admit no other of the Ionian cities to this temple, and the privilege was desired by those of Smyrna alone.

CXLIV. The Dorians now inhabiting Pentapolis, which was formerly called Hexapolis, insti-

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189 *Panionium.*]—About sixteen miles to the south of Scala Nuova there is a Christian village called Changlee. It is supposed to be the ancient Panionium, where the meeting of the twelve cities of Ionia was held, and a solemn sacrifice performed to Neptune Heliconius, in which the people of Priene presided.—*Pococke.*

The victim sacrificed in this temple was a bull; and it was deemed an auspicious omen if he lowed whilst they were conducting him to the place of sacrifice.

This is alluded to in Homer:

Not louder roars,
At Neptune's shrine on Helicé's high shores,
The victim bull.—*Iliad* xx. *T.*

tuted a similar exemption; not admitting the neighbouring Dorians, nor indeed some of their own people, who had violated a sacred and established custom, to the temple of Triope [190]. The prize of these games, which were celebrated in honour of the Triopean Apollo, was formerly a tripod of brass, which the victor was not expected to carry away [191], but to leave as a votive offering in the temple of the deity. A man of Halicarnassus [192], whose name was Agasicles, having obtained the victory, in violation of this custom, carried away the tripod, and hung it up in his house. To punish this offence, the five

[190] *Temple of Triope.*]—Triopium was a city of Caria, founded by Triopas, son of Erysicthon. Hence the Triopean promontory took its name, where was a temple known under the name of the Triopean temple, consecrated to Apollo. The Dorians here celebrated games in honour of that god, but without joining with him Neptune and the nymphs.

In this temple was held a general assembly of the Dorians of Asia, upon the model of that of Thermopylæ.—*Larcher.*

[191] *Was not expected to carry away.*]—In the games in honour of Apollo and Bacchus, the victor was not permitted to carry the prize away with him. It remained in the temple of the deity, with an inscription signifying the names of the persons at whose cost the games were celebrated, with that of the victorious tribe.—*Larcher.*

[192] *Halicarnassus.*]—The sincerity of Herodotus is eminently conspicuous from the faithful manner in which he relates circumstances but little honourable either for Halicarnassus, his country, or even for the Athenians, who had expressed themselves anxious to receive him into the number of their citizens, and before whom he had publicly recited his history. See also chap. cxlvi. of this book; as also different passages in the 3d, 5th, and 7th books.—*Bouhier.*

citics, Lindus, Ialyssus, Camirus, Cos [193], and Cnidus [194], excluded Halicarnassus from their religious ceremonies.

CXLV. It appears to me, that the Ionians, divided themselves into twelve states, and were unwilling to connect themselves with more, because they were originally circumstanced in Peloponnesus, as the Achæans are at present, by whom the Ionians were expelled. The first of these is Pellene near Sicyon, then Ægira and Ægæ, through which the Crathis flows with a never-failing stream, giving its name to a well-known river of Italy. Next to these is Bura, then Hélice, to which place the Ionians fled after being vanquished in battle by the Achæans. Next follow Ægium [195], Rhypæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and Olenus,

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193 *Cos.*]—Cos was the birth-place of Hippocrates.—*T.*

194 *Cnidus.*]—Cnidus was celebrated for being the birth-place of the historian Ctesias, and of the astronomer Eudoxus, and no less so for being possessed of the beautiful Venus of Praxiteles.—*T.*

The medals struck at Cnidus in the times of the Roman emperors, represent, as may be presumed, the Venus of Praxiteles. The goddess with her right hand conceals her sex, with her left she holds some linen over a vessel of perfumes.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

It is perhaps not unworthy of remark, that the celebrated Venus de Medicis conceals with her left hand the distinction of her sex, whilst her right is elevated to her bosom.—*T.*

195 *Ægium.*]—The inhabitants of this place having vanquished the Ætolians in a naval fight, and taken from them a vessel of fifty oars, they made an offering of the tenth part to

which is watered by Pirus, a considerable river. The last are Dyme, and Tritæa, the only inland city.

CXLVI. These are the twelve states of the Achæans, to which the Ionians formerly belonged, who, for this reason, constructed an equal number of cities in the country which they afterwards inhabited. That these are more properly Ionians than the rest, it would be absurd to assert or to imagine. It is certain that the Abantes[196] of Eubœa, who have neither name nor any thing else in common with Ionia, form a considerable part of them. They are, moreover, mixed with the Minyan-Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocidians, Molossians, the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians of Epidaurus, and various other nations. Even those who migrating from

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the temple of Delphi; at the same time they demanded of the god, who were the bravest of the Greeks? The Pythian answered thus: "The best cavalry are those of Thessaly; the loveliest women are those of Sparta; they who drink the water of the fair fountain of Arethuse are valiant; but the Argives, who inhabit betwixt Terinthus and Arcadia, abounding in flocks, are more so.—As for you, O Ægians! you are neither the third, nor the fourth, nor even the twelfth; you inspire no respect, nor are of the smallest importance."—*Larcher.*

196 *Abantes.*]—This people cut off their hair before, and suffered it to grow behind; being a valiant race, they did this to prevent the enemy, whom they always boldly fronted, seizing them by the hair. For the same reason Alexander the Great ordered his generals to make the troops cut off their hair. —*Larcher.*

the Prytaneum [197] of Athens, esteem themselves the most noble of all the Ionians, on their first settling in the country, brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women, whose parents they put to death. In consequence of this violence, the women made a compact amongst themselves, which they delivered to their daughters, never to sit at meals with their husbands, nor to call them by their appropriate names; which resolution was provoked by the murder of their parents, their husbands, and their children, and by their being afterwards compelled to marry the assassins. —The above happened at Miletus.

CXLVII. Of those chosen by these Ionians for their kings, some were Lydians, descended of Glaucus [198], the son of Hippolochus, and others,

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197 *Prytaneum.*]—The Prytaneum was the senate-house of Athens. After the senators were elected, presiding officers were appointed, who were called Prytanes. There were fifty of these, and they resided constantly in the Prytaneum, that they might be ready, says Potter, to give audience to whoever had any thing to propose concerning the common-wealth. In the same place also resided other citizens who had rendered important services to their country. The Prytaneum was sacred to Vesta; it was not appropriate to Athens: mention is made of the Prytaneum of Siphros, of Cyzicum, of Syracuse, and of many other places.—*T.*

198 *Glaucus.*]—This is the Glaucus who relates his genealogy to Diomed in the sixth book of the Iliad.

Hippolochus surviv'd; from him I came,
The honour'd author of my birth and name;
By his decree I sought the Trojan town, &c.—*Pope.*

I cannot help remarking, that the whole version of this episode is comparatively defective in spirit and in melody.—*T.*

Caucon-Pylians, of the race of Codrus, son of Melanthus.[1] These were more tenacious of their Ionian name than the rest of their countrymen; they are without question true and genuine Ionians: but this name may, in fact, be applied to all those of Athenian origin, who celebrate the Apaturian festival[199]; from which it is to be observed, that the Ephesians and Colophonians are alone excluded, who had been guilty of the crime of murder.

CXLVIII. Panionium* is a sacred place[200] on Mycale, situate towards the north, which by the

199 *Apaturian festival.*]—This was first instituted at Athens, and thence derived to the rest of the Ionians, Colophon and Ephesus alone excepted. It continued three days: the first was called Dorpia, from Dorpos, a supper; on the evening of this day each tribe had a separate meeting, at which a sumptuous entertainment was prepared. The second day was named Anarrusis. Victims were offered to Jupiter and to Minerva, in whose sacrifices, as in all that were offered to the celestial gods, it was usual to turn the head of the victims upwards towards heaven. The third day was called Koureotis, from Kouros, a youth, or Koura, shaving. The young men who presented themselves to be enrolled amongst the citizens had then their hair cut off. At this time their fathers were obliged to swear, that both themselves and the mothers of the young men were free-born Athenians. For farther particulars on this subject, consult Archbishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece.—*T.*

* It is greatly to be lamented that no traveller has found the particular site of the Panionium, where Dr. Chandler had not time to copy an inscription, which might have conveyed some information, (Travels in Asia Minor, p. 158,) and to which Bp. Pococke did not go (II. 53.) Who knows whether these

200 [For this note see next page.]

universal consent of the Ionians is consecrated to the Heliconian Neptune[201]. Mycale is a promontory, projecting itself westward towards Samos. Upon this mountain the Ionians assemble from their different cities to celebrate the Panionia. Not only the proper names of these religious ceremonies, but those of all the other Greeks, terminate, like the Persian proper names, in the same letters.

these places of general meeting might not be earth-works, like the tinwald of the Manks, as the tomb (σημα) of Alyattes was a tumulus or barrow (χωμα γης) with a margin or base of great stones, and on its summit five ουροι, or little stones, with inscriptions probably as rude as any in Cornwall or Wales? Few travellers search with just ideas on these subjects. A tumulus or a bare site are not sufficiently interesting; and they do not define the æra of a rude stone and richly chiseled capital. As little attention has been paid to the site of Babylon or Nineveh, whose earth-works might have been expected to remain.

200 *Sacred place.*]—Ampelus and Omphalus were the same term originally, however varied afterwards, and differently appropriated. They are each a compound from Omphe, and relate to the oracular deity. Ampelus, at Mycale in Ionia, was confessedly so denominated, from its being a sacred place, and abounding with waters, by which people who drank them were supposed to be inspired.—*Bryant.*

201 *Heliconian Neptune.*]—The Ionians had a great veneration for Neptune; they had erected to him a temple at Helice, a city of Achaia, when that country belonged to them. From this place the deity took his name of Heliconius. Homer calls him Heliconian king. The Ionians giving place to the Achaians, carried with them to Athens, where they took refuge, the worship of Neptune: afterwards fixing in Asia, they constructed, in honour of this divinity, a temple, on the model of that at Helice. This temple was in the territories of Priene, to which place he who presided at the sacrifices was obliged to belong, its inhabitants giving out that they came from Helice.—*Larcher.*

CXLIX. The above are the cities of Ionia. Those of Æolia are Cyme, sometimes called Phryconis, Larissæ, Neontichus, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina, and Grynia; these were the eleven original cities of Æolia. There were formerly twelve on the continent; but Smyrna, which was one of them, the Ionians captured. The country possessed by the Æolians is in itself more excellent than Ionia, tho' much inferior in the temperature of the air.

CL. The loss of Smyrna was occasioned by the following incident. Some inhabitants of Colophon, who had raised a sedition, and had been driven from their country, were received into Smyrna. They watched their opportunity, and whilst the citizens were engaged in celebrating the rites of Bacchus without the town, they secured the gates, and took possession of the place. All the Æolians assembled for its relief: they afterwards came to terms, and it was agreed that the Ionians should retain the city, restoring to the former inhabitants their household goods. The Smyrneans were in consequence divided among the other cities, with enjoyment of the different privileges annexed to each.

CLI. The above are the Æolian cities* on the continent, among which we have not enumerated

* *Æolian cities.*]—The Æolians of Lesbos affirmed, that

those of mount Ida, which can hardly be said to make a part of their body. They have also in Lesbos[202] five towns; there is a sixth, named Arisba, but this was subdued by the Methymneans, although allied to them by blood. They moreover possess a city in Tenedos[203], and another in the Hundred Islands. The inhabitants of Lesbos and Tenedos, as well as those of the Ionian islands, were, from their situation secure from danger; the others indiscriminately agreed to follow the direction and example of the Ionians.

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they were present at the siege of Troy, under the command of Pylæus, whom Homer makes the general of the Pelasgi. A plain confession, that they were then called Pelasgi as well as others.

202 *Lesbos.*]—The names of Arion and Terpander, of Pittacus, of Alcæus, and of Sappho, and, in after-times, of Theophanes the historian, concur in making the island of Lesbos a just object of classical curiosity. Arion and Terpander excelled all their cotemporaries in the science and practice of music; Pittacus was eminent for his wisdom; and of Alcæus and Sappho little more need be said, than that they have ever been considered as the founders of lyric poetry. A proper opportunity seems here to present itself, of informing the English reader, that what has been said of the dissolute manners of Sappho is only to be found in the works of those who lived a long time after her. The wines of Lesbos were esteemed the finest in Greece: it is now called Mitylene, which was the name of the ancient capital of the Island.—*T.*

203 *Tenedos.*]—The Grecian fleet which proceeded against Troy lay here. It retains its name, is inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and, according to Pococke, exports good wine and brandy.—*T.*

CLII. The Ionians and Æolians made no delay in dispatching ambassadors to Sparta, who, when there, selected for their speaker a man of Phocæa, whose name was Pythermus. Habited in purple [204], as a means of getting a greater number of Spartans together, he stood forth in the midst of them, and exerted all his powers to prevail on them to communicate their assistance. The Lacedæmonians paid no attention to him, and publicly resolved not to assist the Ionians. On the departure of the ambassadors they nevertheless dispatched a vessel of fifty oars, to watch the proceedings of Cyrus, as well as of the Ionians. Arriving at Phocæa, they sent forwards to Sardis, one Lacrines, the principal man of the party, who was commissioned to inform Cyrus that the Lacedæmonians would resent whatever injury might be offered to any of the Grecian cities.

CLIII. Cyrus gave audience to Lacrines; after which, he enquired of the Grecians around him, who these Lacedæmonians were, and what effective power they possessed, to justify this lofty language? When he was satisfied in these particulars, he told the Spartan, "That men who had a large void space in their city, where they

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[204] *Habited in purple.*]—This dress was the most likely to make him conspicuous, as being particularly affected by women.—*Larcher.*

assembled for the purpose of defrauding each other, could never be objects of terror to him: he farther observed, that if he continued but in health, he would take care that their concern for the Ionian troubles should be superseded by the greatness of their own." Cyrus made this reflection upon the Greeks, from the circumstance of their having large public squares[205] for the convenience of trade: the Persians have nothing of the kind. Cyrus afterwards entrusted the care of Sardis to Tabalus, a Persian; the disposition of the Lydian treasures he entrusted to Pactyas, a Lydian: Cyrus himself proceeded to Ecbatane, taking Crœsus with him. He held the Ionians in trifling estimation, compared with what he expected in his views upon Babylon and the Bactrians. He was prepared also for more serious resistance from the Sacians and Ægyptians; he therefore resolved to take the command in these expeditions himself, and to entrust one of his officers with the conduct of the Ionian war.

CLIV. As soon as Cyrus had left Sardis, Pactyas excited the Lydians to revolt. He proceeded

[205] *Large public squares.*]—I have my doubts whether Herodotus was not misinformed in this particular. Xenophon properly distinguishes the public square which was occupied by the houses of the magistrates, and those appropriated to the education of youth, from those places in which provisions and merchandize were sold.—*Larcher.*

towards the sea; and having all the wealth of Sardis at command, he procured a band of mercenaries, and prevailed on the inhabitants of the coast to enlist under his banners; he then encamped before Sardis, and besieged Tabalus in the citadel.

CLV. Intelligence of this was brought to Cyrus on his march; who thus addressed Crœsus on the subject: "What will, in your opinion, Crœsus, be the event of these disturbances? The Lydians seem inclined to provide sufficient employment for me, and trouble for themselves: I am in doubt, whether it will not be better to reduce them altogether to servitude: I appear to myself in the situation of a man, who, destroying the parent, has spared the child—You, who were in every sense the parent of the Lydians, remain in captivity; and yet I am surprized that they, to whom I have restored their city, rebel against my power." Crœsus, on hearing these sentiments of Cyrus, was alarmed for the safety of Sardis. "Sir," he replied, "your remarks are certainly reasonable; but do not, in your anger, destroy an ancient city, which cannot justly be accused of the former or present commotions. Of its former troubles, I was the occasion, the penalty of which I suffer in my own person: Pactyas, who has abused your confidence, is the author of the present evils; let him, therefore, be the object of your resent-

ment; but let the Lydians be forgiven, who may easily be prevented from giving you trouble or alarm hereafter. Let their arms be taken from them; let them be commanded to wear tunics under their cloaks, and buskins about their legs; suffer them to instruct their children in dancing, music, and other feminine accomplishments; you will soon, O king! see them lose the dignity of manhood[206], and be effectually delivered from all future apprehensions of their revolt."

CLVI. Crœsus was induced to make these suggestions, because he thought that even this situation would be better for his country, than a state of actual servitude. He was well assured, that unless what he had urged was forcible, Cyrus would not be prevailed upon to alter his determination. He reflected also on the probability

[206] *Lose the dignity of manhood.*]—These people became so effeminate, that the word *ludizein* signified to dance: the Romans also called dances and pantomimes *ludiones* and *ludii*, which words are derived, not from *ludus*, but from the Lydians; for the Latins used Ludus, Surus, Suria, for Lydus, Syrus, and Syria.—Observe, says Larcher, with a warmth that becomes him, the process of tyrants. They begin with introducing luxury, and by corrupting the morals of the people whom they wish to oppress.—*T.*

Xerxes compelled the Babylonians, who had revolted from him, to adopt a similar conduct. He forbade their carrying arms, and obliged them to learn the practice of music, to have in their cities places of debauch, and to wear long tunics. —*Larcher.*

of the Lydians revolting in future, if they escaped the present danger, and their consequent and unavoidable destruction. Cyrus took in good part the remonstrance of Crœsus, with which, forgetting his resentment, he promised to comply. He, in consequence, dispatched Mazares the Mede, who was commissioned to enforce these observances among the Lydians, which Crœsus had recommended. He farther ordered all those to be sold as slaves, who had been active in the Lydian revolt, excepting Pactyas, whom he desired to be brought a prisoner to his presence.

CLVII. These commands he issued in his progress, and marched without delay to Persia. As soon as Pactyas was informed that an army was advancing to oppose him, he fled in terror to Cyme. Mazares proceeded instantly to Sardis, with a small division of the army of Cyrus. When he heard of the flight of Pactyas, his first step was to compel the Lydians to the observance of what Cyrus had commanded. This proved so effectual, that it produced a total change in the manners of the Lydians. Mazares then dispatched messengers to Cyme, demanding the person of Pactyas: with this the Cymeans hesitated to comply, and first of all sent persons to consult the oracle of Branchidæ, for directions how to act. This oracle was of the greatest antiquity, and consulted both by the Ionians and Æolians: it is in the

territories of Miletus, beyond the port of Panormus.[207]

CLVIII. Their messengers were directed to enquire what conduct, with respect to Pactyas, would be most conformable to the will of the gods: they were in answer commanded to deliver him up to the Persians; which step, on their return, was about to be followed. In contradiction to the general inclination, Aristodicus, son of Heraclides, a man exceedingly popular, distrusted the interpretation of the oracle, and the fidelity of the messengers. He proposed, therefore, that a second message of enquiry should be sent to the oracle, and he himself was among the persons appointed for this purpose.

CLIX. On their arrival at Branchidæ, Aristodicus was the person who addressed the oracle, which he did thus:—"To avoid a cruel death from the Persians, Pactyas, a Lydian, fled to us for refuge; the Persians required us to deliver him into their hands: much as we are afraid of their power, we fear still more to withdraw our protection from a suppliant; till we know your immutable opinion of such conduct." He nevertheless received the same answer; and they were

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207 *Port of Panormus.*]—It will be proper to remember here, that there were two places of this name; and that this must not be confounded with the port of Panormus, in the vicinity of Ephesus.—*T.*

ordered to deliver up Pactyas. To give greater force to what he had said, Aristodicus made a circle round the temple, and from such nests as were built on the outside he took the young. In consequence of his doing this, a voice is said to have exclaimed from the innermost recesses of the temple, "Impious man! how darest thou to injure those who have sought my protection?" In answer to this, Aristodicus replied with perfect composure, "Are you attentive to those who have sought your protection, and do you command us to abandon those who have sought ours?" "Yes," returned the oracle, "I do command it, that such impious men as you[208] may perish the sooner, and that you may never more trouble me about delivering up suppliants."

CLX. The Cymeans deliberating on this answer, resolved to take a middle step, that they

[208] *Such impious men as you.*]—Dr. Jortin remarks, that justice, charity, piety, and faith, were not with those of the middle ages, who cultivated logical or philosophical divinity, what our Saviour and his apostles meant by these virtues. Those doctors called that man pious and holy who stripped himself to enrich the priests, who built churches and monasteries, who neither rejected nor neglected any thing which the pope required to be believed and performed. The remark applies, with peculiar force and truth, to the times and circumstances discussed in the chapter before us. The oracle was evidently influenced by the fear of the Persian power. The last response to Aristodicus, which was equally stupid and wicked, arose from the shame and the rage of being outwitted. On the other hand, the behaviour of Aristodicus was noble, generous, and magnanimous.—*T.*

might neither offend heaven, by abandoning one who had sought their protection, nor expose themselves to the indignation of Cyrus, by refusing his request. Pactyas, therefore, was privately dispatched to Mitylene. From hence also Mazares demanded him, and for a certain compensation the inhabitants of Mitylene agreed to deliver him. This, however, as the matter was never brought to an issue, I do not positively assert. The Cymeans, hearing the danger of Pactyas, sent a vessel to Lesbos, in which he was conveyed to Chios. He here took refuge in the temple of Minerva[209]. The Chians were prevailed on by the offer of Atarneus, a place in Mysia opposite to Lesbos, to take him forcibly from hence, and surrender him[210] to his enemies. The Persians thus obtained the means of complying with the wish of Cyrus, to have Pactyas delivered alive into his hands. Long, however, after this event, the Chians refused to use any

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[209] *Minerva.*]—Minerva Poliouchos, the protectress of the citadel. All citadels were supposed to be under the protection of this goddess, where also she had usually a temple.

Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,
And awful reach the high Palladian dome.—

Pope, Il. vi.

[210] *Surrender him.*]—Charon the Lampsacenian, says Plutarch, a more ancient writer than Herodotus, relating this matter concerning Pactyas, charges neither the Mitylenians nor Chians with any such action. These are his words:—"Pactyas, on hearing of the approach of the Persian army, fled first to Mitylene, then to Chios, and fell into the hands of Cyrus."—*Plutarch on the Malignity of Herodotus.*

part of the produce of Atarneus in any of their sacred ceremonies; they appeared to hold it in particular detestation, and it was not in any form introduced in their temples.

CLXI. After Pactyas had been given up by the Chians, Mazares proceeded to reduce those to obedience who had opposed Tabalus. The Prienians were subdued and sold for slaves; the plains of the Meander, and the city of Magnesia, were given up for plunder to the soldiers: after these events Mazares fell a victim to a sudden disease.

CLXII. Harpagus the Mede was appointed to succeed him: this was the man whom Astyages had entertained with so unnatural a feast, and who had assisted Cyrus in obtaining the kingdom: him Cyrus appointed to the command of his army. On his arrival in Ionia, he blockaded the different towns, by throwing up entrenchments before them; Phocæa was the first city of Ionia which thus fell into his hands.

CLXIII. The Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who made long voyages. The Adriatic and the Tyrrhene seas, Iberia and Tartessus*,

* Tartessus stood between the two branches of the river Bætis, which it formed in its passage through the lake Li-

were first of all explored by them. Their vessels were not round, but of fifty oars. On their touching at Tartessus, they conciliated the favour of Arganthonius[211], sovereign of the place; he had then governed the Tartessians for the space of eighty years, and he lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. Upon that occasion he formed such a regard for the Phocæans, that soliciting them to leave Ionia, he gave them permission to choose within his territories whatever situation they might prefer. On their refusal of his offer, and when he heard from them that the

bystinus, and most commodious, in consequence, it was for the purposes of navigation and trade. This people gave their name not only to the island and river on which their city was built, but also to the whole country, which was called Tartessus. Bochart informs us, that Gades and Carteia were anciently called Tartessus, and thinks that the former was built by the Tarshish of Scripture, immediately after the dispersion, and the two latter, long afterwards, by the Phœnicians.

211 *Arganthonius.*]—That Herodotus may not, in this instance, be accused of falsehood, be it known that in these our times, an Englishman of the name of Thomas Parr, lived to the age of one hundred and fifty-three. He was invited from his residence in the country to London, by king Charles, as a miracle of longevity, where he died, the change of air and of diet not agreeing with him. In all probability, if he had staid at home, he might have lived longer. What is more remarkable, at the age of one hundred, he was tried for his life; ob vim illatam virgini.—*Palmerius.*—This is not correct. Parr was not tried for his life, but convicted in the Spiritual Court of bastardy, for which he did penance.—*T.*

power of the Mede was continually increasing, he supplied them with money to build walls to their city. The extent of the walls, which were of many furlongs, the size of the stones, with the skill of the workmanship, sufficiently attest the donor's liberality.

CLXIV. The Phocæans being thus provided with walls, Harpagus advanced and attacked their city. He offered them terms, and engaged to leave them unmolested, if they would suffer one of their towers to be demolished, and give up some one edifice [212] for a sacred purpose. From their aversion to servitude, the inhabitants requested a day to deliberate on his proposal; desiring him in that interval to withdraw his forces. Harpagus avowed himself conscious of their intentions, but granted their request. Immediately on his retiring from their walls, the Phocæans prepared their fifty-oar'd galleys, in which they placed their families and effects. They collected also the

[212] *Some one edifice.*]—This passage is involved in some obscurity. The commentators understand a temple. M. Reiske wishes to make an addition of the word mithre. But the Persians did not confine the Deity within walls. Perhaps, says Wesseling, Harpagus was satisfied with their consecrating one single building, in token of subjection. For my own part, I think that the king, having a palace in every large town of his dominions, the building which Harpagus demanded, was probably intended for his residence, whenever he might happen to visit Phocæa; or it might perhaps be intended for the governor, his representative.—*Larcher.*

statues and votive offerings from their temples, leaving only paintings, and such works of iron or of stone as could not easily be removed. With these they embarked, and directed their course to Chios. Thus deserted by its inhabitants, the Persians took possession of Phocæa.

CLXV. On their arrival at Chios, they made proposals for the purchase of the Ænussæ islands; not succeeding in their object, as the Chians were afraid of being by these means injured in their commerce, the Phocæans proceeded to Cyrnus *. In this place, twenty years before, they had, under some oracular direction, built a town, to which they gave the name of Alalia. Arganthonius in the mean while had died, and the Phocæans in their way to Cyrnus touched at Phocæa, where they put to death every one of the garrison, which had been left by Harpagus for the defence of the place. After this, they bound themselves under solemn curses never to desert each other. They farther agreed by an oath never to return to Phocæa, till a red-hot ball of iron, which they threw into the sea, should rise again. Notwithstanding these engagements, the greater part of them were, during the voyage, seized with so tender and such affectionate regret for their ancient residence, that they returned to Phocæa. Such of them as adhered to their former solemn resolutions, proceeded on their course from Ænussæ to Cyrnus.

CLXVI. Here they settled, lived in peace with the ancient inhabitants, for the space of five years, and erected some temples. In consequence, however, of their committing depredations on all their neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians collected a fleet of sixty vessels, to oppose them. The Phocæans on their part were not inactive; they also fitted out sixty vessels, and advanced to meet their adversaries on the Sardinian sea. The fleets engaged, the Phocæans conquered, but obtained what might be termed a Cadmean victory[213]. They lost forty of their vessels, and the twenty which remained were unfit for all service. Returning, therefore, to Alalia, they got together their families and effects, loaded their ships with all that they could carry, and, abandoning Cyrnus *, directed their course to Rhegium.

CLXVII. On board the vessels which were taken by the enemy, were a number of prisoners,

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[213] *Cadmean victory.*]—The origin of this proverb is variously related. Suidas says, amongst other things, that it became a proverb, because Cadmus having destroyed the dragon, which guarded a fountain sacred to Mars, lived afterwards for the space of eight years in servitude to Mars. It was applied universally to those whose ostensible superiority was accompanied with real disadvantage. See many curious particulars on this subject in the Adagia of Erasmus, under the artic. Cadmea Victoria.

* Herodotus occasionally mentions most of the larger islands of the Mediterranean. Cyrnus is Corsica. See Rennell, p. 42.

most of whom were carried on shore, and stoned to death. After which enormity, it happened that all the men, cattle, and different animals belonging to Agylla†, which approached this spot, were seized with convulsions, and deformity of one kind or other. This circumstance, and a wish to atone for their crime, induced the people of Agylla to consult the Delphic oracle. The Pythian directed them to perform, what is still observed as a custom among them: they instituted magnificent funeral rites in honour of those who had been slain, and they introduced gymnastic and equestrian exercises in their honour. Such was the fate of this portion of the Phocæans. They who retired to Rhegium took possession of a part of Ænotria‡, and built a city called Hyela. To this they were persuaded by a man of Posidonia, who instructed them that the oracle really intended them to build a mausoleum to the hero Cyrnus, and not a city in the island of that name. —Such is the history of the Phocæans of Ionia.

CLXVIII. The fortune of the Teians was nearly similar; Harpagus having taken their city by blockade, they embarked, and passed over into

† This was Cære in Etruria.

‡ Ænotria is part of Italy. See Rennell again, p. 42. They first attempted to settle in the Ænussæan islands, adjacent to Chios, thence they proceeded to Cyrnus (Corsica) where they had previously founded a city named Alalia, and finally to Ænotria, where they built the city of Hyela, in the tract between Pæstum and Cape Palinurus.

Thrace; here they built Abdera[214], the foundations of which were originally laid by Timesius[215] of Clazomenæ. He enjoyed no advantage from his labours, but was banished by the Thracians; though now venerated by the Teians of Abdera, as a hero.

CLXIX. These Ionians alone, through a warm attachment to liberty, thus abandoned their native country. The rest of these people, excepting the Milesians, met Harpagus in the field, and like

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[214] *Abdera.*]—Of this place many singularities are related by Lucian and Pliny. The grass of the country was so strong, that such horses as ate of it ran mad. The inhabitants were afflicted with a fever, which so disturbed their imaginations, that they fancied themselves actors, and were, during the delirium, eternally repeating some verses from the Andromeda of Euripides. It produced, however, many famous men. It was the birth-place of Democritus, of Protagoras, Anaxarchus, Hecatæus, and others.—*T.*

[215] *Timesius.*]—Larcher, on the authority of Plutarch and Ælian, reads Timesias. The reading in all the manuscripts and editions of Herodotus, is Timesius.

Timesias was governor of Clazomenæ, and a man of great integrity. Envy, which always persecutes such characters, ultimately effected his disgrace. He was for a time regardless of its consequences; but it at length banished him from his country. He was passing by a school, before which the boys, dismissed by their master, were playing. Two of them were quarrelling about a piece of string. "I wish," says one of them, "I might so dash out the brains of Timesias." Hearing this, he concluded that if he was thus hated by boys, as well as men, the dislike of his person must be universal indeed; he therefore voluntarily banished himself.—*Ælian.*

their friends, who had sought another residence, fought like men and patriots. Upon being conquered, they continued in their several cities, and submitted to the wills of their new masters. The Milesians, who, as I have before mentioned, had formed a league of amity with Cyrus, lived in undisturbed tranquillity. Thus was Ionia reduced a second time to servitude. Awed by the fate of their countrymen on the continent, the Ionians of the islands, without any resistance, submitted themselves to Harpagus and Cyrus.

CLXX. The Ionians, though thus depressed, did not omit assembling at Panionium, where, as I have been informed, Bias of Priene gave them advice so full of wisdom, that their compliance with it would have rendered them the happiest of the Greeks. He recommended them to form one general fleet, to proceed with this to Sardinia, and there erect one city capable of receiving all the Ionians. Thus they might have lived in the enjoyment of their liberties, and possessing the greatest of all the islands, might have been secure of the dependence of the rest. On the contrary, their continuance in Ionia rendered every expectation of their recovering their independence quite impossible. This, in their fallen condition, was the advice of Bias; but before their calamities, Thales the Milesian, who was in fact of Phœnician origin, had wisely counselled them to have one general

representation of the Ionians at Teos, this being a central situation; of which the other cities, still using their own customs and laws, might be considered as so many different tribes. Such were the different suggestions of these two persons.

CLXXI. On the reduction of Ionia, Harpagus incorporated the Ionians and Æolians with his forces, and proceeded against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. The Carians formerly were islanders, in subjection to Minos, and called Leleges*. But I do not, after the strictest examination, find that they ever paid tribute. They supplied Minos, as often as he requested, with a number of vessels, and at the period of his great prosperity and various victories, were distinguished above their neighbours by their ingenuity. Three improvements now in use among the Grecks, are imputed to them. The Carians were the first who added crests to their helmets, and ornaments to their shields. They were also the

* *Called Lelegcs.*]—They are distinguished from the Leleges by Homer, who makes them two distinct people. See book 10th of the Iliad:

"The Carians, Caucons, the Pelasgian host,
And Leleges, encamp along the coast."

Here I must censure Mr. Pope. Homer calls the Pelasgi, δῖοι, which strong epithet is totally omitted in the translation.

Strabo, in his 12th book, calls the Leleges, πλανητας, wanderers.

first who gave the shield its handle[216]. Before their time, such as bore shields had no other means of managing them but by a piece of leather suspended from the neck over the left shoulder. After a long interval of time, the Dorians and Ionians expelled the Carians, who, thus driven from the islands, settled on the continent. The above information concerning the Carians is received from Crete; they themselves contradict it altogether, and affirm that they are original natives of the continent, and had never but one name. In confirmation of this, they show at Mylassa[217], a very ancient structure, built in honour of the Carian Jove, to the privileges of which the Lydians and Mysians are also admitted, as being of the same origin. According to their account, Lydus and Misus were brothers of Cares; the

[216] *Its handle.*]—It appears from Homer, that in the time of the Trojan war the buckler had two handles of wood, one through which the arm was passed; the other was grasped by the hand to regulate its movement. See Iliad 8, 193. This particularity is omitted by Mr. Pope, who contents himself with saying, shield of gold. The original is, the shield is entirely of gold, handles and all—*κανονα τε και αντην.*—*T.*

Sophocles, therefore, has been guilty of an anachronism, in giving the shield of Ajax a handle of leather.—*Larcher.*

[217] *Mylassa.*]—Now called Melasso.—Besides the temple here mentioned, there was another of great antiquity, in honour of Jupiter Osogus. In after-times a beautiful temple was constructed at this place, sacred to Augustus and to Rome. Melasso is at the present day remarkable for producing the tobacco in Turkey.—*T.*

use of the above temple is therefore granted to their descendants, but to no other nation, though distinguished by the use of the same language.

CLXXII. The Caunians are, in my opinion, the aborigines of the country, notwithstanding their own assertion that they came from Crete. I am not able to speak with decision on the subject; but it is certain, that either they adopted the Carian, or the Carians accommodated themselves to their language. Their laws and customs differ essentially from those of other nations, and no less so from the Carians. Among them it is esteemed highly meritorious to make drinking parties, to which they resort in crowds, both men, women, and children, according to their different ages and attachments. In earlier times they adopted the religious ceremonies of foreign nations; but determining afterwards to have no deities but those of their own country, they assembled of all ages in arms, and rushing forwards, brandishing their spears as in the act of pursuit, they stopped not until they came to the mountains of Calynda, crying aloud that they were expelling their foreign gods.

CLXXIII. The Lycians certainly derive their origin from Crete[219]. The whole of this island

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[219] *Crete.*]—Now called Candia. For an account of its

was formerly possessed by barbarians; but a contest for the supreme power arising between Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa[220], Minos prevailed, and expelled Sarpedon and his adherents. These, leaving their country, came to that part of Asia which is called Milyäs. The country of the Lycians was formerly called Milyas, and the Milyans were anciently known by the name of Solymi. Here Sarpedon governed; his subjects retained the names they brought, and indeed they are now by their neighbours called Termilians*. Lycus, the son of Pandion, being also driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, went to Sarpedon, at Termilæ; in process of

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precise circumstances consult Pococke.—But the best and latest account of Crete is to be found in Savary's Letters on Greece.—*T.*

[220] *Europa.*]—The popular story of Jupiter and Europa is too well known to require or to justify any elaborate discussion. This name, however, may be introduced amongst a thousand others, to prove how little it becomes any person to speak peremptorily, and with decision, upon any of these more ancient personages. According to Lucian, Europa and Astarte were the same, and worshipped with divine honours in Syria. She was also esteemed the same with Rhea, the mother of the gods.—*T.*

* *Termilians.*]—They are sometimes called Telmissi. I believe they both mean the same thing, both names relating to the kind of armour in use amongst them; the first denoting the short sword, or poniard, the last the quiver and arrows, for which the Cretans were famous, and both which Herodotus appropriates to the Lycians, in book the 7th.

time the nation was, after him, called Lycians. Their laws are, partly Cretan[221] and partly Carian. They have one distinction from which they never deviate, which is peculiar to themselves; they take their names from their mothers[222], and not from their *fathers. If any one is asked concerning his family, he proceeds immediately

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[221] *Partly Cretan.*]—The following whimsical circumstance is related by Ælian. "The Cretans," says he, "are skilful archers. With their darts they wound the wild goats which feed upon the mountains. The goats on perceiving themselves struck, immediately eat the herb dictamnus; as soon as they have tasted it the darts fall from the wound."—*T.*

[222] *From their mothers.*]—Bellerophon slew a wild boar, which destroyed all the cattle and fruits of the Xanthians, but he received no compensation for his services. He therefore prayed to Neptune, and obtained from him, that all the fields of the Xanthians should exhale a salt dew, and be universally corrupted. This continued till, regarding the supplications of the women, he prayed a second time to Neptune, to remove this effect of his indignation from them. Hence a law was instituted among the Xanthians, that they should derive their names from their mothers, and not from their fathers.—*Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.*

The country of the Xanthians was in Lycia. If this custom commenced with the Xanthians, the Lycians doubtless adopted it. Amongst these people the inheritance descended to the daughters, the sons were excluded.—*Larcher.*

No less singular is the custom which prevails in some parts of this kingdom, called Borough English, which ordains that the youngest son shall inherit the estate, in preference to all his elder brothers.—*T.*

* *From their fathers.*]—They also called themselves sons of Thetis, as I have mentioned in another place; this probably they did in consequence of the strange custom here

to give an account of his descent, mentioning the female branches only. If any free woman marries a slave, the children of such marriage are reputed free; but if a man who is a citizen, and of authority among them, marry a concubine, or a foreigner, his children can never attain any dignity in the state.

CLXXIV. Upon this occasion the Carians made no remarkable exertions, but afforded an easy victory to Harpagus. The Carians, indeed, were not less pusillanimous than all the Greeks inhabiting this district; among whom are the Cnidians, a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territories, called Triopium, extend to the sea. The whole of this country, except the Bybassian peninsula, is surrounded with water: on the north by the bay of Ceramus; and on the west by that sea which flows near Syme and Rhodes. Through this peninsula, which was only five furlongs in

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mentioned, and to confront the like ridiculous fictions of other nations.

Moreover, over the different companies (τα Συσσιτια, or Ανδρεια) into which the Cretans were divided, a woman presided, had the care and management of the whole family, provided for them, and at table distributed the choicest pieces to those who had distinguished themselves, either at home or abroad. This female government arose from the foregoing plea, their pretended descent from Thetis: but the youth under seventeen were under the care of a master, who was called their father. See Meursius, c. 16, 17. Creta.

extent, the Cnidians endeavoured to make a passage, whilst the forces of Harpagus were employed against Ionia. The whole of this country lying beyond the isthmus being their own, they meant thus to reduce it into the form of an island. Whilst they were engaged in this employment, the labourers were wounded in different parts of the body, and particularly in the eyes, by small pieces of flint, which seemed to fly about in so wonderful a manner, as to justify their apprehensions that some supernatural power had interfered. They sent therefore to make enquiries at Delphi, what power it was which thus opposed their efforts? The Pythian[223], according to their own tradition, answered them thus:

Nor build, nor dig; for wiser Heav'n
Had, were it best, an island giv'n.

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[223] *The Pythian.*]—This answer of the oracle brings to mind an historical anecdote, which may properly be introduced here:—The Dutch offered Charles the Second of Spain to make the Tagus navigable as far as Lisbon, at their own expence, provided he would suffer them to exact, for a certain number of years, a stipulated duty on merchandize which should pass that way. It was their intention to make the Mansanazer navigable from Madrid to the place where it joins the Tagus. After a sage deliberation, the council of Castile returned this remarkable answer; "If it had pleased God to make these rivers navigable, the intervention of human industry would not have been necessary: as they

Upon this the Cnidians desisted from their purpose, and, on the approach of the enemy, surrendered themselves, without resistance, to Harpagus.

CLXXV. The inland country beyond Halicarnassus was inhabited by the Pedasians. Of them it is affirmed, that whenever they or their neighbours are menaced by any calamity, a prodigious beard grows from the chin of the priestess of Minerva[224]: this, they say, has happened three several times. They, having fortified mount Lida, were the only people of Caria who discovered any resolution in opposing Harpagus. After many exertions of bravery, they were at length subdued.

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are not so already, it does not appear that Providence intended them to be so. Such an undertaking would be, seemingly, to violate the decrees of heaven, and to attempt the amendment of these apparent imperfections visible in its works."—*Clarke's Letters on the Spanish Nation.*

224 *The priestess of Minerva.*—We express ourselves surprized at the blind credulity of the ancients: posterity, in its turn, will be astonished at ours, without being on this account perhaps at all more wise.—*Larcher.*

The liquefying of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, which, by the majority of the people there, it would at this day be thought impiety to doubt, is recited in a very lively and entertaining manner by Dr. Moore, and is an instance of credulity no less striking than the one recorded by Herodotus of the Carian priestesses.—*T.*

CLXXVI. When Harpagus led his army towards Xanthus, the Lycians boldly advanced to meet him, and, though inferior in number, behaved with the greatest bravery. Being defeated, and pursued into their city, they collected their wives, children, and valuable effects, into the citadel, and there consumed the whole, in one immense fire[225]. They afterwards uniting themselves under the most solemn curses, made a private sally upon the enemy, and were every man put to death. Of those who now inhabit Lycia, calling themselves Xanthians, the whole are foreigners, eighty families excepted: these survived the calamity of their country, being at that time absent on some foreign expedition. Thus Xanthus fell into the hands of Harpagus;

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225 *One immense fire.*]—The following anecdote from Plutarch, describes a similar emotion of despair.—The Xanthians made a sally in the night, and seizing many of the enemy's battering engines, set them on fire. Being soon perceived by the Romans, they were beaten back. A violent wind forced the flames against the battlements of the city with such violence, that the adjoining houses took fire. Brutus, on this, commanded his soldiers to assist the citizens in quenching the fire: but they were seized with so sudden a frenzy and despair, that women and children, bond and free, all ages and conditions, strove to repel those who came to their assistance, and, gathering whatever combustible matter they could, spread the fire over the whole city. Not only men and women, but even boys and little children, leaped into the fire; others threw themselves from the walls; others fell upon their parents swords, opening their breasts, and desiring to be slain.—*T.*

as also did Caunus, whose people imitated, almost in every respect, the example of the Lycians.

CLXXVII. Whilst Harpagus was thus engaged in the conquest of the Lower Asia, Cyrus himself conducted an army against the upper regions, of every part of which he became master. The particulars of his victories I shall omit; expatiating only upon those which are most memorable in themselves, and which Cyrus found the most difficult to accomplish. When he had reduced the whole of the continent, he commenced his march against the Assyrians.

CLXXVIII. The Assyrians are masters of many capital towns; but their place of greatest strength and fame is Babylon[226], which, after the

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[226] *Babylon.*]—The greatest cities of Europe give but a faint idea of that grandeur which all historians unanimously ascribe to the famous city of Babylon.—*Dutens.*

Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency.—*Isaiah.* The latest accounts of Babylon are from Ranwolf, 1574, Ray's Travels, and P. de la Valle, 1616. The latter describes what D'Anville believes to be the tower or temple of Belus; and P. St. Albert, in his MS. account of his mission, describes immense walls, said to be those of the palace. (D'Anville l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 110. 117.) D'Anville treats Otter as an illiterate traveller, who never thought about Babylon, for want of having been told of it; yet Gibbon ranks him with Tavernier and Niebuhr, the most useful of modern travellers in these tracts. But to be thoroughly acquainted with the situation and remains

destruction of Nineveh, was the royal residence. It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square: each side, by every approach, is one hundred and twenty furlongs in length; the space, therefore, occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty furlongs*. So extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies; its internal beauty and magnificence exceeds whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water: the wall beyond this, is two hundred royal cubits[227] high, and fifty wide: the royal exceeds the common cubit by three digits.

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of this vast and interesting city, the reader will do well to peruse with serious attention the elaborate publication of Rennell, who has dedicated not less than sixty pages to this important subject. It is certainly surprising that Herodotus says nothing of its founder, but is satisfied with telling us who extended and improved it.

* The different reports of the extent of the walls of Babylon are given as follows:

By Herodotus at 120 stadia each side, or 480 in circumference.

By Pliny and Solinus at 60 Roman miles, which, at eight stadia to a mile, agrees with Herodotus.

By Strabo at 385 stadia.

By Diodorus, from Ctesias, 360, but from Clitarchus, who accompanied Alexander, 365: and, lastly, by Curtius, 368.

It appears highly probable that 360 or 365 was the true statement of the circumference.—*Rennell.*

[227] *Cubits.*]—It must be confessed, indeed, that in the comparison of ancient and modern measures, nothing certain has been concluded. According to vulgar computation,

CLXXIX. I here think it right to describe the use, to which the earth dug out of the trench was converted, as well as the particular manner in which they constructed the wall. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and, when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used as cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner; on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch-towers of one story, leaving a space betwixt them, through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different distances, were an hundred massy gates of brass[228], whose hinges and frames were of the same metal.

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a cubit is a foot and a half; and thus the ancients also reckoned it: but then we are not certainly agreed about the length of their foot.—*Montfaucon.*

The doubt expressed by Montfaucon appears unnecessary: these measures, being taken from the proportions of the human body, are more permanent than any other. The foot of a moderate-sized man, and the cubit, that is the space from the end of the fingers to the elbow, have always been near twelve and eighteen inches respectively.—*T.*

[228] *Gates of brass.*]—Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus: I will go before thee; I will break in pieces the gates of brass.—*Isaiah.*

Within an eight days journey from Babylon is a city called Is*; near which flows a river of the same name, which empties itself into the Euphrates. With the current of this river, particles of bitumen descend towards Babylon, by the means of which its walls were constructed.

CLXXX. The great river Euphrates, which, with its deep and rapid streams, rises in the Armenian mountains, and pours itself into the Red Sea [229], divides Babylon into two parts. The walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breast-work of burnt bricks begins, and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houses from three to four stories in height, is regularly divided into streets. Through these, which are parallel, there are transverse avenues to the river, opened through the wall and breast-work, and

* *Is.*]—There are some curious fountains of this kind near Hit, a town on the Euphrates, at 128 miles above Hillah, reckoning the distance along the banks of the Euphrates. This distance answers to eight ordinary journies of a caravan, of 16 miles direct, and is at the same rate as the six journies at which Hit is reported to be from Bagdad, according to M. Niebuhr. There can be no doubt, therefore, this Hit is the place intended by Is, and which should have been written It.—*Rennell.*

229 *Red Sea.*]—The original Erythrean or Red Sea was that part of the Indian ocean which forms the peninsula of Arabia; the Persian and Arabian gulphs being only branches of it.—*T.*

secured by an equal number of little gates of brass.

CLXXXI. The first wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though less in substance, is of almost equal strength. Besides these, in the centre of each division of the city, there is a circular space surrounded by a wall. In one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple of Jupiter Belus[230] occupies the other, whose huge gates of brass may still be seen. It is a square building, each side of which is of the length of two furlongs. In the midst a tower rises, of the solid

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230 *Temple of Jupiter Belus.*]—It is necessary to have in mind, that the temples of the ancients were essentially different from our churches. A large space was inclosed by walls, in which were courts, a grove, pieces of water, apartments sometimes for the priests; and lastly the temple, properly so called, and where most frequently it was permitted the priests alone to enter. The whole inclosure was named το ἱερον: the temple, properly so called, or the residence of the deity, was called ναος (naos) or the cell. It is obvious, that this last is the place particularly alluded to.—*Larcher.*

Notwithstanding the above remark of M. Larcher, the conformity between the temples of the ancients and our ecclesiastical structures, was greater than he seems to imagine. Colleges and monasteries include within their walls, courts, lodgings for priests, groves, pieces of water, besides the church or chapel. The same holds true of the pagodas and other places of worship of the present Hindoos.

Bel and Belus was a title bestowed upon many persons. It was particularly given to Nimrod, who built the city Babel or Babylon.—*Bryant.*

depth and height of one furlong; upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure there is a convenient resting-place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here; but the apartment is occupied by a female, who, as the Chaldean priests[231] affirm, is selected by their deity from the whole nation as the object of his pleasures.

CLXXXII. They themselves have a tradition, which cannot easily obtain credit, that their deity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch. A similar assertion is also made by the Ægyptians of Thebes; for, in the interior part of the temple of the Theban Jupiter, a woman in like manner sleeps. Of these two women, it is presumed that neither of them have any communication with the other sex. In which predicament the priestess of the temple of Pataræ in Lycia is also placed. Here is no regular

231 *Chaldean priests.*]—Belus came originally from Ægypt. He went, accompanied by other Ægyptians, to Babylon: there he established priests; these are the personages called by the Babylonians, Chaldeans. The Chaldeans carried to Babylon the science of astrology, which they learned from the Ægyptian priests.—*Larcher.*

oracle[232]; but whenever a divine communication is expected, the priestess is obliged to pass the preceding night in the temple.

CLXXXIII. In this temple, there is also a small chapel, lower in the building, which contains a figure of Jupiter in a sitting posture, with a large table before him; these, with the base of the table, and the seat of the throne, are all of the purest gold, and are estimated by the Chaldeans to be worth eight hundred talents. On the outside of this chapel, there are two altars; one is of gold, the other is of immense size, and appropriated to the sacrifice of full-grown animals: those only which have not left their dams may be offered on the altar of gold. Upon the larger altar, at the time of the anniversary festival in honour of their god, the Chaldeans regularly consume incense, to the amount of a thousand talents. There was formerly in this temple, a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high*; this, however, I mention from the information of the Chaldeans, and not from my own knowledge. Darius the son of Hystaspes[233] endeavoured by

[232] *Regular oracle.*]—According to Servius, Apollo communicated his oracles at Pataræ during the six winter months, at Delos in the six months of summer.—*Larcher.*

* It is by no means impossible but that this might be the identical image which Nebuchadnezzar set up.—See Daniel, chap. iii. ver. 1.

[233] *Darius the son of Hystaspes.*]—The only Babylonish and Persian princes found in the Bible, are Nebuchad-

sinister means to get possession of this, not daring openly to take it; but his son Xerxes afterwards seized it, putting the priest to death who endeavoured to prevent its removal. The temple, besides those ornaments which I have described, contains many offerings of individuals.

CLXXXIV. Among the various sovereigns of Babylon, who contributed to the strength of its walls, and the decoration of its temples, and of whom I shall make mention when I treat of the Assyrians, there were two females: the former of these was named Semiramis[234], who preceded

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nezzar, Evil Merodach, Belshazzar, Ahasuerus, Darius the Mede, Coresh, and Darius the Persian; Artaxerxes also is mentioned in Nehemiah. Ahasuerus has been the subject of much etymological investigation. Sir Isaac Newton, by inadvertency, makes him in one place to be Cyaxares, in another Xerxes. Archbishop Usher supposes him to be Darius Hystaspes; Scaliger, Xerxes; Josephus, the Septuagint, and Dr. Hyde, Artaxerxes Longimanus.—*Richardson.*

[234] *Semiramis.*]—It may be worth while to observe the different opinions of authors about the time when Semiramis is supposed to have lived.

	Years.
According to Syncellus, she lived before Christ -	2177
Petavius makes the term - - - - -	2060
Helvicus - - - - - - -	2248
Eusebius - - - - - - -	1984
Mr. Jackson - - - - - - -	1964
Archbishop Usher - - - - - -	1215
Philo Biblius, from Sanchoniathon, about - -	1200
Herodotus about - - - - - -	713

What credit can be given to the history of a person, the time of whose life cannot be ascertained within 1535 years? —*Bryant.*

the other by an interval of five generations. This queen raised certain mounds, which are indeed admirable works; till then the whole plain was subject to violent inundations from the river.

CLXXXV. The other queen was called Nitocris: she being a woman of superior understanding, not only left many permanent works, which I shall hereafter describe, but also having observed the encreasing power and restless spirit of the Medes, and that Nineveh, with other cities, had fallen a prey to their ambition, put her dominions in the strongest posture of defence. To effect this, she sunk a number of canals above Babylon, which by their disposition rendered the Euphrates, which before flowed to the sea in an almost even line, so complicated by its windings, that in its passage to Babylon it arrives three times at Ardericca, an Assyrian village: and to this hour they who wish to go from the sea up the Euphrates to Babylon, are compelled to touch at Ardericca three times on three different days. The banks also, which she raised to restrain the river on each side, are really wonderful, from their enormous height and substance. At a considerable distance above Babylon, turning aside a little from the stream, she ordered an immense lake to be dug, sinking it till they came to the water: its circumference was no less than four hundred and twenty furlongs. The earth of this was applied to the embankments of the river;

and the sides of the trench or lake were strengthened and lined with stones, brought thither for that purpose. She had in view by these works, first of all to break the violence of the current by the number of circumflexions, and also to render the navigation to Babylon as difficult and tedious as possible. These things were done in that part of her dominions which was most accessible to the Medes; and with the farther view of keeping them in ignorance of her affairs, by giving them no commercial encouragement.

CLXXXVI. Having rendered both of these works strong and secure, she proceeded to execute the following project. The city being divided by the river into two distinct parts, whoever wanted to go from one side to the other was obliged, in the time of the former kings, to pass the water in a boat. For this, which was a matter of general inconvenience, she provided this remedy, and the immense lake which she had before sunk, became the farther means of extending her fame:—Having procured a number of large stones, she changed the course of the river, directing it into the canal prepared for its reception. When this was full, the natural bed of the river became dry, and the embankments on each side, near those smaller gates which led to the water, were lined with bricks hardened by fire, similar to those which had been used in the

construction of the wall. She afterwards, nearly in the centre of the city, with the stones above-mentioned, strongly compacted with iron and with lead, erected a bridge[235]; over this the inhabitants passed in the day-time by a square platform, which was removed in the evening to prevent acts of mutual depredation. When the above canal was thoroughly filled with water, and the bridge completely finished and adorned, the Euphrates was suffered to return to its original bed: thus both the canal and the bridge were confessedly of the greatest utility to the public.

CLXXXVII. The above queen was also celebrated for another instance of ingenuity: she

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235 *A bridge.*]—Diodorus Siculus represents this bridge as five furlongs in length; but as Strabo assures us that the Euphrates was no more than one furlong wide, Rollin is of opinion that the bridge could not be so long as Diodorus describes it. Although the Euphrates was, generally speaking, no more than one furlong in breadth, at the time of a flood it was probably more; and, doubtless, the length of the bridge was proportioned to the extremest possible width of the river. This circumstance M. Rollin does not seem to have considered. The Mansanares, which washes one of the extremities of Madrid, is but a small stream: but as, in the time of a flood, it spreads itself over the neighbouring fields, Philip the Second built a bridge eleven hundred feet long. The bridge of Semiramis, its length alone excepted, must have been very inferior to these of ours. It consisted only of large masses of stone, piled upon each other at regular distances, without arches; they were made to communicate by pieces of wood thrown over each pile.—*Larcher.*

caused her tomb[236] to be erected over one of the principal gates of the city, and so situated as to be obvious to universal inspection: it was thus inscribed—"If any of the sovereigns, my successors, shall be in extreme want of money, let him open my tomb, and take what money he may think proper; if his necessity be not great, let him forbear, the experiment will perhaps be dangerous." The tomb remained without injury till the time and reign of Darius. He was equally offended at the gate's being rendered useless, and that the invitation thus held out to become affluent, should have been so long neglected. The gate, it is to be observed, was of no use, from the general aversion to pass through a place over which a dead body was laid. Darius opened the tomb; but instead of finding riches, he saw only the dead body, with a label of this import: "If your avarice had not been equally base and insatiable, you would not have disturbed the repose of the dead."—Such are the traditions concerning this queen.*

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[236] *Her tomb.*]—Nitocris, in this instance, deviated from the customs of her country. The Assyrians, to preserve the bodies of their dead the longer from putrefaction, covered them with honey: the Romans did the same. As to their funeral rites, the Assyrians in all respects imitated the Ægyptians.—*T.*

It appears from Plutarch, that the tomb of Cyrus, and of many of the princes of the East, were within the precincts of their cities.—*Bryant.*

* Larcher omits this last paragraph, that the narrative, as he observes, may not be enfeebled.

CLXXXVIII. Against her son Labynitus, who, with the name of his father, enjoyed the empire of Assyria, Cyrus conducted his army. The great king [237], in his warlike expeditions, is provided from home with cattle, and all other necessaries for his table. There is also carried with him water of the river Choaspes [238], which flows near

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237 *Great king.*]—This was the title by which the Greeks always distinguished the monarchs of Persia. The emperor of Constantinople is at the present day called the Grand Signior.—*Larcher.*

Lofty titles have always been, and still continue to be conferred upon the Oriental princes.—Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth.—*Ezra*, i. 2.

For I never hurt any that was willing to serve Nebuchodonosor, king of all the earth.—*Judith* xi. 1.

238 *Choaspes.*]—

> There Susa by Choaspes' amber stream,
> The drink of none but kings.
>
> *Paradise Regained*, Book ii.

Upon the above passage of Milton, Jortin has this remark:—I am afraid Milton is here mistaken. That the kings of Persia drank no water but that of the river Choaspes, is well known: that none *but* kings drank of it, is what I believe cannot be proved."—Add to the note from Jortin, the following, from the posthumous works of the same writer:

If we examine the assertion of Milton, as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of Choaspes, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the Elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned Cho-

Susa, for the king drinks of no other; wherever he goes he is attended by a number of four-

aspes or Eulæus as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, and have called it βασιλικον υδωρ, regia lympha; but none have said they alone drank it. I say Choaspes or Eulæus, because some make them the same, others make them different rivers.

Jortin then adds from Ælian, as a proof that the subjects of the Persian king might drink this water, the anecdote which I have quoted at length.

Mention is made, continues Jortin, by Agathocles, of a certain water which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find in Athenæus, Agathocles says, that there is in Persia a water called Golden; that it consists of seventy streams; that none drink of it except the king and his eldest son; and that if any other person does, death is the punishment.

It appears not that the golden water, and the water of Choaspes were the same. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that the king alone drank of that water of Choaspes, which was boiled and barrelled up for his use in his military expeditions.

Jortin concludes by saying, that Milton, by his calling it Amber Stream, seems to have had in view the golden water of Agathocles. To me, this does not seem likely; I think Milton would not have scrupled to have called it at once Golden Stream, if he had thought of the passage from Athenæus before quoted.

Ælian relates, that Xerxes during his march came to a desert place, and was exceedingly thirsty; his attendants with his baggage were at some distance: proclamation was made, that whoever had any of the water of Choaspes should produce it for the use of the king. One person was found who possessed a small quantity, but it was quite putrid: Xerxes, however, drank it, and considered the person who supplied it as his friend and benefactor, as he must otherwise have perished with thirst.—*T.*

wheeled carriages, drawn by mules, in which the water of Choaspes, being first boiled, is deposited in vessels of silver.

CLXXXIX. Cyrus in his march to Babylon arrived at the river Gyndes, which rising in the mountains of Matiene, and passing through the country of the Darneans, loses itself in the Tigris: and this, after flowing by Opis, is finally discharged into the Red Sea. Whilst Cyrus was endeavouring to pass this river, which could not be performed without boats, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entering the stream, in his attempts to cross it was borne away by the rapidity of the current, and totally lost. Cyrus, exasperated [239] by the accident, made a vow, that he would render this stream so very insignificant, that women should hereafter be able to cross it without so much as wetting their knees. He accordingly suspended his designs upon Babylon, and divided his forces into two parts: he then marked out with a line, on each side the river,

239 *Cyrus, exasperated.*]—This portrait of Cyrus seems to me a little overcharged. The hatred which the Greeks bore the Persians is sufficiently known. The motive with Cyrus for thus treating the Gyndes could not be such as is here described. That which happened to the sacred horse might make him apprehend a similar fate for the rest of his army, and compel him to divert the river into a great number of canals to render it fordable. A similar example occurs in a preceding chapter.—*Larcher.*

one hundred and eighty trenches; these were dug according to his orders, and so great a number of men were employed, that he accomplished his purpose, but he thus wasted the whole of that summer.

CXC. Cyrus having thus satisfied his resentment with respect to the Gyndes, on the approach of spring prepared to march towards Babylon; the Babylonians awaited him in arms: as he advanced they met and gave him battle, but were defeated, and chased into the town. The inhabitants were well acquainted with the restless and ambitious temper of Cyrus, and had guarded against this event, by collecting provisions and other necessaries sufficient for many years support, which induced them to regard a siege, as a matter of small importance; and Cyrus, after much time lost, without having made the smallest progress, was reduced to great perplexity.

CXCI. Whilst in this state of anxiety, he adopted the following expedient, either from the suggestions of others, or from the deliberation of his own judgment:—He placed one detachment of his forces where the river first enters the city, and another where it leaves it, directing them to enter the channel, and attack the town whenever a passage could be effected. After this disposition of his men, he withdrew with the less effective of his troops to the marshy ground which we have before described. Here he pursued in every

respect the example of the Babylonian princess; he pierced the bank, and introduced the river into the lake, by which means the bed of the Euphrates became sufficiently shallow for the object he had in view. The Persians in their station watched the proper opportunity, and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs, they entered Babylon without difficulty. If the besieged had either been aware of the designs of Cyrus, or had discovered the project before its actual accomplishment, they might have effected the total destruction of these troops. They had only to secure the little gates which led to the river, and to have manned the embankments on either side, and they might have enclosed the Persians in a net from which they could never have escaped: as it happened, they were taken by surprize; and such is the extent of the city, that, as the inhabitants themselves affirm, they who lived in the extremities were made prisoners, before any alarm was communicated[240] to the centre of the place. It was a day of festivity among them, and whilst the citizens were engaged in dance and merriment, Babylon was, for the first time*, thus taken.

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[240] *Any alarm was communicated.*]—They who were in the citadel did not know of the capture of the place till the break of day; which is not at all improbable: but it exceeds belief, what Aristotle affirms, that even on the third day it was not known in some quarters of the town that Babylon was taken.—*Larcher.*

* It was again taken by Darius. See B. 3. 159. This

CXCII. The following exists, amongst many other proofs which I shall hereafter produce, of the power and greatness of Babylon. Independent of those subsidies which are paid monthly to the Persian monarch, the whole of his dominions are obliged throughout the year to provide subsistence for him and for his army. Babylon alone raises a supply for four months, eight being proportioned to all the rest of Asia; so that the resources of this region are considered as adequate to a third part of Asia. The government also of this country, which the Persians call a satrapy, is deemed by much the noblest in the empire[241]. When Tritantæchmes, son of Arta-

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incident brings forcibly to mind the feast of Belshazzar, described in Daniel, v. 1. "Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand," &c. &c.

He was profaning the sacred vessels brought from the temple at Jerusalem, when the miraculous hand-writing appeared on the wall from which Daniel foretold the destruction of Babylon, and the transferring of the empire to the Medes and Persians.

"MENE; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.—TEKEL; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.—PERES; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

"In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldæans slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom."

The coincidence is very striking.

241 The description of Assyria, says Mr. Gibbon, is furnished by Herodotus, who sometimes writes for children and sometimes for philosophers. It is given also by Strabo and Ammianus. The most useful of the modern travellers are

bazus, was appointed to this principality by the king, he received every day an artaby of silver. The artaby is a Persian measure, which exceeds the Attic medimnus by about three chœnices. Besides his horses for military service, this province maintained for the sovereign's use a stud of eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares, one horse being allotted to twenty mares. He had moreover so immense a number of Indian dogs[242], that four great towns in the vicinity of Babylon were exempted from every other tax, but that of maintaining them*.

CXCIII. The Assyrians have but little rain, the lands, however, are fertilized, and the fruits of the earth nourished, by means of the river. This does not[243], like the Ægyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but is dis-

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Tavernier, Otter, and Niebuhr: yet I must regret, adds the historian, that the Irak Arabi of Abulfeda has never been translated.

242 *Indian dogs.*]—These were very celebrated. The ancients, in general, believed them to be produced from a bitch and a tiger. The Indians pretend, says Pliny, that the bitches are lined by tigers, and for this reason when they are at heat they confine them in some part of the forests. The first and second race they deem to be remarkably fierce; they bring up also the third.—*Larcher.*

* See Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 166.

243 *This does not, &c.*]—The Euphrates occasionally overflows its banks, but its inundations do not, like those of the Nile, communicate fertility. The streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris do not, says Pliny, leave behind them the mud which the Nile does in Ægypt.—*Larcher.*

persed by manual labour, or by hydraulic engines. The Babylonian district, like Ægypt, is intersected by a number of canals[244], the largest of which, continued with a south east course from the Euphrates to that part of the Tigris where Nineveh stands, is capable of receiving vessels of burden. Of all countries which have come within my observation, this is far the most fruitful in corn. Fruit-trees, such as the vine, the olive, and the fig, they do not even attempt to cultivate; but the soil is so particularly well adapted for corn, that it never produces less than two hundred fold; in seasons which are remarkably favourable, it will sometimes rise to three hundred: the ear of their wheat as well as barley is four digits in size. The immense height to which millet and sesamum[245] will grow, al-

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[244] *Number of canals.*]—The uses of these artificial canals were various and important: they served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations; subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and as the dams could be speedily broken down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army.—*Gibbon.*

[245] *Sesamum.*]—Of this plant there are three species; the Orientale, the Indicum, and the Trifelictum: it is the first kind which is here meant. It is an annual herbaceous plant; its flowers are of a dirty white, and not unlike the foxglove; it is cultivated in the Levant as a pulse, and indeed in all the eastern countries; it has of late years been intro-

though I have witnessed it myself, I know not how to mention. I am well aware that they who have not visited this country will deem whatever I may say on the subject a violation of probability. They have no oil but what they extract from the sesamum. The palm[246] is a very common plant is this country, and generally fruitful: this they cultivate like fig-trees, and it produces them bread, wine, and honey. The process[247] observed in this: they fasten the fruit of that which the Greeks term the male tree to the one which pro-

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duced into Carolina, and with success; an oil is expressed from its seed: it is the seed which is eaten; they are first parched over the fire, and then stewed with other ingredients in water.—*T.*

[246] *The Palm.*]—The learned Kæmpfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhausted the whole subject of palm-trees. The diligent natives, adds Mr. Gibbon, celebrated either in verse or prose the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit were skilfully applied.

[247] *The process.*]—Upon this subject the learned and industrious Larcher has exhausted no less than ten pages. The ancients whom he cites are Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Pliny; the moderns are Pontedera, and Tournefort, which last he quotes at considerable length. The Amœnitates Exoticæ of Kæmpfer, to which I have before alluded, will fully satisfy whoever wishes to be more minutely informed on one of the most curious and interesting subjects which the science of natural history involves.—*T.*

The male bears a large branch something like millet, which is full of a white flower (flour), and unless the young fruit of the female is impregnated with it, the fruit is good for nought. And to secure it, they tie a piece of the fruit of the male to every bearing branch of the female.—*Pococke.*

duces the date, by this means the worm which is contained in the former entering the fruit, ripens and prevents it from dropping immaturely. The male palms bear insects in their fruit, in the same manner as the wild fig-trees.

CXCIV. Of all that I saw * in this country, next to Babylon itself, what to me appeared the greatest curiosity, were the boats. These which are used by those who come to the city, are of a circular form, and made of skins. They are constructed in Armenia, in the parts above Assyria, where the sides of the vessels being formed of willow[248], are covered externally with skins, and

* This is one of the many passages which prove that Herodotus personally visited the places which he more circumstantially describes. This appears almost throughout the 2d book, and particularly in chapters 3, 29, 44, 104, 106, 167. In Melpomene also, c. 86.

[248] *Formed of willow. &c.*]—

The bending willow into barks they twine,
Then line the work with skins of slaughter'd kine;
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po:
On such to neighbouring Gaul, allur'd by gain,
The bolder Britons cross the swelling main.
Like these, when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,
The Memphian artist builds his reedy boat.

Rowe's Lucan.

The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon.—*Gibbon.*

I have been informed, that a kind of canoe made in a similar form, and precisely of the same materials, is now in use in Monmouthshire, and other parts of Wales, and called

having no distinction of head or stern, are modelled into the shape of a shield. Lining the bottoms of these boats with reeds, they take on board their merchandize, and thus commit themselves to the stream. The principal article of their commerce is palm wine, which they carry in casks. The boats have two oars, one man to each; one pulls to him, the other pushes from him. These boats are of very different dimensions; some of them are so large as to bear freights to the value of five thousand talents: the smaller of them has one ass on board; the larger, several. On their arrival at Babylon, they dispose of all their cargo, selling the ribs of their boats, the matting, and every thing but the skins which cover them; these they lay upon their

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a corricle. They are also common in Cheshire, and may be seen on the Dee. Much like this also is the boat described by Mr. Turner, in his Account of Tibet:

I saw a boat placed on its end in one of the villages, for occasional use, which might easily be carried on the back of the passenger. It was composed chiefly of leather, and consisted of a rude skeleton of wood, with thwarts and ribs, over which a bull's hide was stretched. It appeared to be exactly similar to that kind of boat which under the name of corricle still continues in use on the Wye and perhaps on some other of our English rivers, and it brought forcibly to my recollection the important use to which Cæsar once applied this rude and simple invention of our British Ancestors.—*T.*

See the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, book ii. verse 168, where we are told, that anciently all the inhabitants of the sea coasts made their rafts and boats of passage of the skins of beasts.

asses, and with them return to Armenia. The rapidity of the stream is too great to render their return by water practicable. This is perhaps the reason which induces them to make their boats of skin, rather than of wood. On their return with their asses to Armenia, they make other vessels in the manner we have before described.

CXCV. Their clothing is of this kind: they have two vests, one of linen which falls to the feet, another over this which is made of wool; a white sash connects the whole. The fashion of their shoes[249] is peculiar to themselves, though somewhat resembling those worn by the Thebans. They wear their hair[250] long, and covered with a

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[249] *Fashion of their shoes.*]—The Theban shoes were made of wood, and came up part of the leg. The dresses for the feet and legs amongst the Greeks and Romans were nearly the same; they had both shoes and sandals, the former covered the whole foot, the last consisted of one or of more soals, and were fastened with thongs above the foot. In the simplicity of primitive manners, the feet were only protected by raw hides. It is said in Dion Cassius, that Julius Cæsar gave offence at Rome, by wearing high-heeled shoes of a red colour. The shoes of the Roman senators were distinguished by a crescent. A particular form of shoe or sandal was appropriated to the army; and a description of thirty different kinds, as used by the Romans and such nations as they deemed barbarous, may be found in Montfaucon.—*T.*

[250] *Their hair.*]—It cannot be a matter of much importance, to know whether the Babylonians wore their hair short, or suffered it to grow. But it is a little singular, that in this instance Strabo formally contradicts Herodotus, although in others he barely copies him.—*Larcher.*

turban, and are lavish in their use of perfumes[251]. Each person has a seal ring, and a cane, or walking-stick, upon the top of which is carved an apple[252], a rose, a lily, an eagle*, or some figure or other: for to have a stick without a device, is unlawful.

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251 *Perfumes.*]—The use of aromatics in the East may be dated from the remotest antiquity; they are at the present period introduced, not only upon every religious and festive occasion, but as one essential instrument of private hospitality and friendship. "Ointment and perfume," says Solomon, "rejoice the heart." At the present day, to sprinkle their guests with rose water, and to perfume them with aloes wood, is an indispensable ceremony at the close of every visit in Eastern countries. At the beginning of the present century they were considered as a proof of great extravagance and unusual luxury; they have of late years been continually becoming more and more familiar, till they have at length ceased to be any distinction of elegance, of fortune, or of rank.—*T.*

252 *An apple.*]—What, in common with Littlebury and Larcher, I have translated apple, Mr. Bryant understands to be a pomegranate, which, he says, was worn by the ancient Persians on their walking-sticks and sceptres, on account of its being a sacred emblem.—*T.*

* *An eagle.*]—The sovereign Princes of Greece wore on their sceptres the figure of a bird, and often that of an eagle. The Monarchs of Asia had the same custom. The eagle is always represented as crowning the summit of Jupiter's sceptre. See West's Translation of Pindar.

Then by the music of thy numbers charm'd,
The bird's fierce Monarch drops his vengeful ire.

Perch'd on the sceptre of the Olympian king,
The thrilling darts of harmony he feels,
And indolently hangs his rapid wing,
While gentle sleep his closing eye-lid seals.

CXCVI. In my description of their laws, I have to mention one, the wisdom of which I must admire; and which, if I am not misinformed, the Eneti*, who are of Illyrian origin, use also. In each of their several districts this custom was every year observed: such of their virgins as were

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* *Eneti.*]—This people, from whom perhaps the Venetians of Italy are descended, Homer mentions as famous for their breed of mules:

The Paphlagonians Pylæmenes rules,
Where rich Henetia breeds her savage mules.

Before I proceed, I must point out a singular error of Pope: any reader would imagine that Pylæmenes, as it stands in his translation, had the penultimate long; on the contrary it is short. There is nothing like rich Henetia in Homer; he simply says, εξ Ενετων. Upon the above lines of Homer, I have somewhere seen it remarked, that probably the poet here intended to inform us, that the Enêti were the first people who pursued and cultivated the breed of mules. They were certainly so famous for this heterogeneous mixture, that Ενετις and Ενετος denote that particular foal of the horse and the mule, which the Eneti bred.—See *Hesychius.*

A remarkable verse occurs in Genesis, see chapter xxxvi., verse 24. "These are the children of Zibeon; both Ajah, and Anah: this was that Anah, who *found the mules* in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father." Does not this mean that Anah was the first author and contriver of this unnatural breed?

This mixture was forbidden by the Levitical law.—See Leviticus, ch. xix. ver. 19. "Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind."

Is it impossible that from Anah the Eneti might take their name? Strabo informs us that the Eneti of Asia were called afterwards Cappadocians, which means breakers of horses: and he adds, that they who marched to the assistance of Troy, were esteemed a part of the *Leuco-Syri.*—*T.*

marriageable, were at an appointed time and place assembled together. Here the men also came, and some public officer sold by auction[253] the young women one by one, beginning with the most beautiful. When she was disposed of, and as may be supposed for a considerable sum, he proceeded to sell the one who was next in beauty, taking it for granted that each man married the maid he purchased. The more affluent of the Babylonian youths contended with much ardour and emulation to obtain the most beautiful: those

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253 *Sold by auction.*]—Herodotus here omits one circumstance of consequence, in my opinion, to prove that this ceremony was conducted with decency. It passed under the inspection of the magistrates; and the tribunal whose office it was to take cognizance of the crime of adultery, superintended the marriage of the young women. Three men, respectable for their virtue, and who were at the head of their several tribes, conducted the young women that were marriageable to the place of assembly, and there sold them by the voice of the public crier.—*Larcher.*

If the custom of disposing of the young women to the best bidder was peculiar to the Babylonians, that of purchasing the person intended for a wife, and of giving the father a sum to obtain her, was much more general. It was practised amongst the Greeks, the Trojans, and their allies, and even amongst the deities.—*Bellanger.*

Three daughters in my court are bred,
And each well worthy of a royal bed:
Laodice, and Iphigenia fair,
And bright Chrysothemis with golden hair.
Her let him choose, whom most his eyes approve;
I ask no presents, no reward for love.—*Pope's Iliad.*

of the common people who were desirous of marrying, as if they had but little occasion for personal accomplishments, were content to receive the more homely maidens, with a portion annexed to them. For the crier, when he had sold the fairest, selected next the most ugly, or one that was deformed; she also was put up to sale, and assigned to whoever would take her with the least money. This money was what the sale of the beautiful maidens produced, who were thus obliged to portion out those who were deformed, or less lovely than themselves. No man was permitted to provide a match for his daughter, nor could any one take away the woman whom he purchased, without first giving security to make her his wife. To this if he did not assent, his money was returned him. There were no restrictions with respect to residence; those of another village might also become purchasers. This, although the most wise of all their institutions, has not been preserved to our time. One of their later ordinances was made to punish violence offered to women, and to prevent their being carried away to other parts; for after the city had been taken, and the inhabitants plundered, the lower people were reduced to such extremities, that they prostituted their daughters for hire.

CXCVII. They have also another institution, the good tendency of which claims applause.

Such as are diseased[254] among them they carry into some public square: they have no professors of medicine, but the passengers in general interrogate the sick person concerning his malady; that if any person has either been afflicted with a similar disease himself, or seen its operation on another, he may communicate the process by which his own recovery was effected, or by which, in any other instance, he knew the disease to be removed. No one may pass by the afflicted person in silence, or without enquiry into the nature of his complaint.

CXCVIII. Previous to their interment, their dead are anointed with honey, and, like the Ægyptians, they are fond of funeral lamentations*. Whenever a man has had communication with

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254 *Diseased.*]—We may from hence observe the first rude commencement of the science of medicine. Syrianus is of opinion, that this science originated in Ægypt, from those persons who had been disordered in any part of their bodies writing down the remedies from which they received benefit. —*Larcher.*

* *Funeral lamentations.*]—The custom of hiring people to lament at funerals is of very great antiquity. Many passages in the Old Testament seem to allude to this—Jeremiah, xvi. 5. Baruch, vi. 32. "They roar and cry before their gods, as men do at the feast when one is dead."

A similar custom prevails to this day in Ireland, where, as I have been informed, old women are hired to roar and cry at funerals.

his wife[255], he sits over a consecrated vessel, containing burning perfumes; the woman does the same. In the morning both of them go into the bath; till they have done this they will neither of them touch any domestic utensil. This custom is also observed in Arabia.

CXCIX. The Babylonians have one custom in the highest degree abominable. Every woman who is a native of the country is obliged once in her life to attend at the temple of Venus, and prostitute herself[256] to a stranger. Such women

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[255] *Communication with his wife.*]—I much approve of the reply of Theano, wife of Pythagoras. A person enquired of her, what time was required for a woman to become pure, after having had communication with a man. "She is pure immediately," answered Theano, "if the man be her husband; but if he be not her husband, no time will make her so."—*Larcher, from Diogenes Laertius.*

Ablution after such a connection is required by the Mahometan law.—*T.*

[256] *Prostitute herself.*]—This, as an historical fact, is questioned by some, and by Voltaire in particular; but it is mentioned by Jeremiah, who lived almost two centuries before Herodotus, and by Strabo, who lived long after him. See Baruch, vi. 42.

"The women also with cords about them sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume. But if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."

Upon the above Mr. Bryant remarks, that instead of women, it should probably be read virgins; and that this

as are of superior rank, do not omit even this opportunity of separating themselves from their inferiors; these go to the temple in splendid chariots, accompanied by a numerous train of domestics, and place themselves near the entrance. This is the practice with many; whilst the greater part crowned with garlands, seat themselves in the vestibule; and there are always numbers coming and going. The seats have all of them a rope or string annexed to them, by which the stranger may determine his choice. A woman having once taken this situation, is not allowed to return home, till some stranger throws her a piece of money, and leading her to a distance from the temple, enjoys her person. It is usual for the man, when he gives the money, to say, "May the goddess

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custom was universally kept up wherever the Persian religion prevailed. Strabo is more particular: "Not only," says he, "the men and maid-servants prostitute themselves, but people of the first fashion devote in the same manner their own daughters. Nor is any body at all scrupulous about cohabiting with a woman who has been thus abused."

Upon the custom itself no comment can be required; Herodotus calls it, what it must appear to every delicate mind, in the highest degree base.

The prostitution of women, considered as a religious institution, was not only practised at Babylon, but at Heliopolis; at Aphace, a place betwixt Heliopolis and Biblus; at Sicca Veneria, in Africa, and also in the isle of Cyprus. It was at Aphace that Venus was supposed, according to the author of the Etymologicum Magnum, to have first received the embraces of Adonis.—*T.*

Mylitta* be auspicious to thee!" Mylitta being the Assyrian name of Venus. The money given is applied to sacred uses, and must not be refused, however small it may be. The woman is not suffered to make any distinction, but is obliged to accompany whoever offers her money. She afterwards makes some conciliatory oblation to the goddess, and returns to her house, never afterwards to be obtained on similar, or on any terms. Such as are eminent for their elegance and beauty do not continue long, but those who are of less engaging appearance, have sometimes been known to remain from three to four years, unable to accomplish the terms of the law. It is to be remarked, that the inhabitants of Cyprus have a similar observance.

CC. In addition to the foregoing account of Babylonian manners, we may observe, that there are three tribes of this people, whose only food is fish. They prepare it thus: having dried it in the sun, they beat it very small in a mortar, and afterwards sift it through a piece of fine cloth; they then form it into cakes, or bake it as bread.

CCI. After his conquest of this people, Cyrus extended his ambitious views to the Massagetæ, a

* Mylitta, or rather according to Scaliger, Mylitath, which in the Chaldæan tongue, is the same as Genetrix.—The Mylitta of the Assyrians, the Mithra of the Persians, and the Alitta of the Arabians, have the same signification. See Hesychius at the word Μηλυτα.

great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river Araxes, to the extreme parts of the East. They are opposite to the Issedonians, and are by some esteemed a Scythian nation*.

CCII. Concerning the magnitude of the Araxes†, there are various representations; some pronouncing it less, others greater, than the Danube. There are many islands scattered up and down in it, some of which are nearly equal to Lesbos in extent. The people who inhabit these, subsist during the summer on such roots as they

* Herodotus, as Major Rennell observes, does not seem to have been decided in his opinion whether or not the Massagetæ were to be regarded as a Scythian nation, but subsequent writers have almost universally reckoned them so. So that the proper Scythians of Herodotus were those of the Euxine, and those of succeeding writers on the Caspian, or rather Arat and Jaxartes.

† *Araxes.*]—See Spenser's Fairy Queen, book iv. canto 11. stanza 21.

Oraxes feared for great Cyrus' sake.

Instead of Oraxes, it ought to be Araxes.—See *Jortin.*

Virgil alludes to the tempestuous violence of this river, Æn. viii. 728.

Pontem indignatus Araxes.

See also Chardin, tom. 1. p. 181.

"On a bati diverses fois des ponts dessus l'Araxe, mais quelques forts et massifs qu'ils fussent, comme il paroit a des arches qui sont encore entiers, ils n'ont pu tenir contre l'effort du fleuve. Il est si furieux lorsque le degel le grossit des neiges fondues des monts voisins, qu'il n'y a ni digue ni autre batiment qu'il n'emporte."

dig out of the earth, preserving for their winter's provision, the ripe produce of their fruit-trees. They have amongst them a tree whose fruit has a most singular property. Assembled round a fire, which they make for this purpose, they throw into the midst of it the above fruit, and the same inebriation is communicated to them from the smell, as the Greeks experience from excess of wine. As they become more exhilarated, they throw on a greater quantity of fruit, and are at length so far transported as to leap up, dance, and sing.—This is what I have heard of the customs of this people. The Araxes, like the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty rivulets, rises among the Matienian hills. It separates itself into forty mouths[257], all of which, except one, lose themselves in bogs and marshes, among which a people are said to dwell, who feed upon raw fish, and clothe themselves with the skins of sea-calves. The larger stream of the Araxes continues its even course to the Caspian.

CCIII. The Caspian is an ocean by itself, and communicates with no other. The sea frequented by the Greeks, the Red Sea, and that beyond the

257 *Forty mouths.*]—What Herodotus says of the Araxes, is in a great measure true of the Volga, which empties itself into the Caspian by a number of channels, in which many considerable islands are scattered. But this river does not, nor indeed can it come from the Matienian mountains.—*Larcher.*

Pillars, called the Atlantic, are all one ocean. The Caspian forms one unconnected sea*: a swift-oared boat would in fifteen days measure its length, its extreme breadth in eight. It is bounded on the west by mount Caucasus, the largest and perhaps the highest mountain in the world. Caucasus is inhabited by various nations[258], many of whom are said to subsist on what the soil spontaneously produces. They have trees whose leaves possess a most singular property: they beat them

* Hence it appears that Herodotus doubts whether the ocean entirely encircled the earth; on this subject Major Rennell observes with his usual perspicuity:—

It has appeared, that Herodotus doubts whether the ocean completely encompasses the earth; but he admits that it surrounds it on three sides. For, speaking of the Caspian sea, as being unconnected with all others, (in effect a lake) he says, that the *Erythrean* sea, and the one *frequented* by the *Greeks*, as well as the *Atlantic*, are parts of the *same ocean:* Clio, 203. And as he always says, Melp. 13, 36, that the Hyperboreans, whom he places to the northward of the Scythians and Issedones, EXTENDED TO THE SEA; this is saying in other words, that the sea bordered on, and confined *Europe and Asia* on the *north*. We have here then, in express terms, a *north*, a *south*, and a *west* sea; but no *eastern* sea; so that he considered the eastern part of the world as composed of *land* only: for he says, that "the Indians are the *last* nation towards the *east;* and that beyond them is a *vast desert*, unknown and unexplored." Melp. 40. Again he says, Melp. 8. "They affirm, without proving it, that the *ocean*, commencing at the *east*, flows round the *earth*."

258 *Various nations.*]—Of these the principal were the Colchians, of the excellent produce and circumstances of whose country a minute and entertaining account is given by Strabo.—*T.*

to powder, and then steep them in water; this forms a dye[259], with which they paint figures of animals on their garments. The impression is so very strong, that it cannot be washed out; it appears to be interwoven in the cloth, and endures as long as the garment. The sexes communicate promiscuously, and in public, like the brutes.

CCIV. Caucasus terminates that part of the Caspian which extends to the west: it is bounded on the east by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus meditated an attack. He was invited and urged by many strong incentives. When he considered the peculiar circumstances of his birth, he believed himself more than human. He reflected also on the prosperity of his arms, and that wherever he had extended his incursions, he had been followed by success and victory.

CCV. The Massagetæ* were then governed by a queen, who was a widow, and named Tomyris. Cyrus sent ambassadors to her with over-

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259 *Forms a dye.*]—Perhaps it may be allowed to conjecture at this place, that Herodotus intended to speak of indigo.

* Some modern writers of great authority have supposed that the word *Scythiæ*, *Sluteæ*, or *Kuthæ*, was only another

tures of marriage; the queen, concluding that his real object was the possession, not of her person, but her kingdom, forbad his approach. Cyrus, on finding these measures ineffectual, advanced to the Araxes, openly discovering his hostile designs upon the Massagetæ. He then threw a bridge of boats over the river, for the passage of his forces, which he also fortified with turrets.

CCVI. Whilst he was engaged in this difficult undertaking, Tomyris sent by her ambassadors this message: "Sovereign of the Medes, uncertain as you must be of the event, we advise you to desist from your present purpose. Be satisfied with the dominion of your own kingdom, and let us alone, seeing how we govern our subjects*.

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reading of *Getæ*, as also that *these* are of the same nation with the *Massagetæ*; which is, indeed, very probable, although there is no *necessity* for supposing it. Probably the early *Greeks* hearing of a nation of Getæ beyond the Caspian and Jaxartes, (for the remains of the Getæ existed in the same tract, and under the same name, so late as the time of Tamerlane) gave them the name of *Massa-Getæ*, to distinguish them from the *Getæ* in the west; but might be in doubt whether to regard them absolutely as Scythians.

* I insert this passage on the authority of Larcher, strengthened by Boerheck. The latter says, if for ορεων we might read αρεων, it would be better, as Strabo observes that the Massagetæ possessed many mountainous districts; and Justin relates that Tomyris laid her ambuscade for Cyrus among the mountains.

You will not, however, listen to this salutary counsel, loving any thing rather than peace: If, then, you are really impatient to encounter the Massagetæ, give up your present labour of constructing a bridge; we will retire three days march into our country, and you shall pass over at your leisure; or, if you had rather receive us in your own territories, do you as much for us." On hearing this, Cyrus called a council of his principal officers, and, laying the matter before them, desired their advice how to act. They were unanimously of opinion, that he should retire, and wait for Tomyris in his own dominions.

CCVII. Crœsus the Lydian, who assisted at the meeting, was of a different sentiment, which he defended in this manner: "I have before remarked, O king! that since Providence has rendered me your captive, it becomes me to exert all my abilities in obviating whatever menaces you with misfortune. I have been instructed in the severe but useful school of adversity. If you were immortal yourself, and commanded an army of immortals, my advice might be justly thought impertinent; but if you confess yourself a human leader, of forces that are human, it becomes you to remember that sublunary events have a circular motion, and that their revolution does not permit the same man always to be fortunate. Upon this present subject of debate I dissent from the ma-

jority. If you await the enemy in your own dominions, a defeat may chance to lose you all your empire; the victorious Massagetæ, instead of retreating to their own, will make farther inroad into your territories. If you conquer, you will still be a loser by that interval of time and place, which must be necessarily employed in the pursuit. I will suppose that, after victory, you will instantly advance into the dominions of Tomyris; yet can Cyrus the son of Cambyses, without disgrace and infamy, retire one foot of ground from a female adversary? I would therefore recommend, that having passed over with our army, we proceed on our march till we meet the enemy; then let us contend for victory and honour. I have been informed the Massagetæ lead a life of the meanest poverty, ignorant of Persian fare, and of Persian delicacies. Let these therefore be left behind in our camp: let there be abundance of food prepared, costly viands, and flowing goblets of wine. With these let us leave the less effective of the troops, and with the rest again retire towards the river. If I err not, the foe will be allured by the sight of our luxurious preparations, and afford us a noble occasion of victory and glory."

CCVIII. The result of the debate was, that Cyrus preferred the sentiments of Crœsus: he therefore returned for answer to Tomyris, that he

would advance the space into her dominions which she had proposed. She was faithful to her engagement, and retired accordingly: Cyrus then formally delegated his authority to his son Cambyses[260]; and above all recommended Crœsus to his care, as one whom, if the projected expedition should fail, it would be his interest to distinguish by every possible mark of reverence and honour. He then dismissed them into Persia, and passed the river with his forces.

CCIX. As soon as he had advanced beyond the Araxes into the land of the Massagetæ, he saw in the night this vision: He beheld the eldest son of Hystaspes having wings upon his shoulders; one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe. Hystaspes was the son of Arsamis, of the family of the Achæmenides; the name of his eldest son was Darius, a youth of about twenty who had been left behind in Persia as not yet of age for military service. Cyrus awoke, and revolved the matter in his mind: as it appeared to him of serious importance, he sent for Hystaspes to his presence, and, dismissing his attendants, "Hystaspes," said the king, "I will explain to you my reasons, why I am satisfied beyond all

260 *His son Cambyses.*]—When the Persian kings went on any expedition, it was customary with them to name their successor, in order to prevent the confusion unavoidably arising from their dying without having done this.—*Larcher.*

dispute that your son is now engaged in seditious designs against me and my authority. The gods, whose favour I enjoy, disclose to me all those events which menace my security. In the night just passed, I beheld your eldest son having wings upon his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe; from which I draw certain conclusions that he is engaged in acts of treachery against me. Do you therefore return instantly to Persia; and take care, that when I return victorious from my present expedition, your son may give me a satisfactory explanation of his conduct."

CCX. The strong apprehension of the treachery of Darius induced Cyrus thus to address the father; but the vision in reality imported that the death of Cyrus was at hand, and that Darius should succeed to his power. "Far be it, O king!" said Hystaspes in reply, "from any man of Persian origin to form conspiracies against his sovereign; if such there be, let immediate death be his portion. You have raised the Persians from slavery to freedom; from subjects, you have made them masters: if a vision has informed you that my son designs any thing against you, to you and to your disposal I shall deliver him." Hystaspes, after this interview, passed the Araxes on his return to Persia, fully intending to watch over his son, and deliver him to Cyrus.

CCXI. Cyrus, advancing a day's march from the Araxes, followed, in all respects, the counsel of Crœsus; and leaving behind him the troops upon which he had less dependence, he returned with his choicest men towards the Araxes. A detachment of about the third part of the army of the Massagetæ attacked the Persians whom Cyrus had left, and, after a feeble conflict, put them to the sword. When the slaughter ceased, they observed the luxuries which had artfully been prepared; and yielding to the allurement, they indulged themselves in feasting and wine, till drunkenness and sleep overcame them. In this situation the Persians attacked them: several were slain, but the greater part were made prisoners, among whom was Spargapises, their leader, the son of Tomyris.

CCXII. As soon as the queen heard of the defeat of her forces, and the capture of her son, she dispatched a messenger to Cyrus with these words: "Cyrus, insatiable as you are of blood, be not too elate with your recent success. When you yourself are overcome with wine, what follies do you not commit? by entering your bodies, it renders your language more insulting. By this poison you have conquered my son, and neither by your prudence nor your valour. I venture a second time to advise what it will be certainly

your interest to follow. Restore my son to liberty, and, satisfied with the disgrace you have put upon a third part of the Massagetæ, depart from these realms unhurt. If you will not do this, I swear by the Sun, the great god of the Massagetæ, that, insatiable as you are of blood, I will give you your fill of it[261]."

CCXIII. These words made but little impression upon Cyrus. The son of Tomyris, when, recovering from his inebriated state, he knew the misfortune which had befallen him, intreated Cyrus to release him from his bonds: he obtained his liberty, and immediately destroyed himself.

CCXIV. On the refusal of Cyrus to listen to her counsel, Tomyris collected all her forces: a battle ensued, and of all the conflicts which ever took place amongst barbarians, this was I believe by far the most obstinately disputed. According to such particulars as I have been able to collect, the engagement began by a shower of arrows poured on both sides, from an interval of some

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[261] *Fill of blood.*]—With this story of Cyrus that of the Roman Crassus nearly corresponds. The wealth of Crassus was only to be equalled by his avarice. He was taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians, who poured melted gold down his throat, in order, as they said, that he whose thirst of gold could never be satisfied when he was alive, might be filled with it when dead.—*T.*

distance; when these were all spent, they fought with their swords and spears, and for a long time neither party gained the smallest advantage: the Massagetæ were at length victorious, the greater part of the Persians were slain, Cyrus himself also fell; and thus terminated a reign of twenty-nine years. When after diligent search his body was found, Tomyris directed his head to be thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, and having insulted and mutilated the dead body, exclaimed, "Survivor and conqueror as I am, thou hast ruined my peace by thy successful stratagem against my son; but I will give thee now, as I threatened, thy fill of blood."—This account of the end of Cyrus seems to me most consistent with probability, although there are many other and different relations[262].

CCXV. The Massagetæ in their clothes and food resemble the Scythians: they fight on horseback and on foot, and are both ways formidable. They have spears, arrows, and battle-axes. They make much use both of gold and brass. Their

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[262] *Different relations.*]—Xenophon makes Cyrus die peaceably in his bed; Strabo inclines to this opinion; Lucian makes him live beyond the age of an hundred.—*Larcher.*

The Massagetæ are by some authors confounded with the Scythians. Diodorus Siculus calls Tomyris queen of the Scythians.—*Larcher.*

spears, the points of their arrows, and their battle-axes, are made of brass; their helmets, their belts, and their breast-plates are decorated with gold. They bind also a plate of brass on the chests of their horses, whose reins, bits, and other harness, are plated with gold. They use neither iron nor silver, which indeed their country does not produce, though it abounds with gold and brass.

CCXVI. Concerning their manners we have to observe, that though each man marries but one wife, she is considered as common property. For what the Greeks assert in general of the Scythians, is true only of the Massagetæ. When a man of this country desires to have communication with a woman, he hangs up his quiver before his * waggon, and enjoys her without fear of interruption. To speak of the number of years to which they

* Among the Nasamones in Africa, whose manners were nearly the same, a staff was fixed in the ground before the tent. See Melpom. p. 172. Dow says, in his Dissertation prefixed to his Indian History, p. xxxvii. that the Faquirs of some part of India leave one of their slippers at the door when engaged in certain visits, in which they are supposed to be privileged by the sanctity of their order. Some of our ancestors are accused of the same want of delicacy as the Massagetæ and the Nasamones; but we have no particular record of their domestic customs. Herodotus acquits the Western Scythians of this practice, so contrary to decency and sentiment. See Rennell, p. 78.

live, is impossible. As soon as any one becomes infirm through age, his assembled relations put him to death[263], boiling along with the body the flesh of sheep and other animals, upon which they feast: esteeming universally this mode of death the happiest. Of those who die from any disease, they never eat; they bury them in the earth, and esteem their fate a matter to be lamented, because they have not lived to be sacrificed. They sow no grain, but entirely subsist upon cattle, and upon the fish which the river Araxes abundantly supplies; milk also constitutes a part of their diet. They sacrifice

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263 *Put him to death.*]—Hellanicus, speaking of the Hyperboreans, who live beyond the Rhiphean mountains, observes, that they learn justice, that they do not eat meat, but live entirely on fruit. Those of sixty years they carry out of the town, and put to death. Timæus says, that in Sardinia, when a man has passed the age of seventy years, his sons, in honour of Saturn, and with seeming satisfaction, beat his brains out with clubs, and throw him from some frightful precipice. The inhabitants of Iulis, in the isle of Ceos, oblige those who are past the age of sixty years to drink hemlock, &c.

This custom, so contrary to our manners, will, doubtless, appear fabulcus to those who are no friends to antiquity, and whose judgments are regulated entirely by modern manners. It is practised nevertheless at the present day in the kingdom of Aracan: the inhabitants of this country accelerate the death of their friends and relations, when they see them afflicted by a painful old age, or incurable disease: it is with them an act of piety.—*Larcher.*

horses [264] to the sun, their only deity, thinking it right to offer the swiftest of mortal animals, to the swiftest of immortal beings.

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[264] *Sacrifice horses.*]—This was a very ancient custom: it was practised in Persia in the time of Cyrus, and was probably anterior to that prince. Horses were also sacrificed to Neptune, and the deities of the rivers, being precipitated into the sea or into rivers.

Sextus Pompeius threw into the sea horses and live oxen, in honour of Neptune, whose son he professed himself to be.—*Larcher.*

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum
Ne detur celeri victima tarda deo.—*Ovid.*

HERODOTUS.

BOOK II.

EUTERPE.

CHAP. I.

CAMBYSES, the son of Cyrus, by Cassandana, daughter of Phanaspe, succeeded his father. The wife of Cyrus had died before him; he had lamented her loss himself with the sincerest grief, and commanded all his subjects to exhibit public marks of sorrow[1]. Cambyses thus descended, considered the Ionians and

[1] *Public marks of sorrow.*]—Admetus pays the same tribute of respect to the memory of his deceased wife Alcestis.

Πᾶσιν δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσιν, ὧν ἐγὼ κρατῶ,
Πένθος γυναικὸς τῆσδε κοινοῦσθαι λέγω,
Κάρᾳ ξυρήκει καὶ πέπλοις μελαγχίμοις.
Euripid. Alcest. 425.

Which is thus rendered by Potter:

Through my realms of Thessaly
I give command, that all, in solemn grief
For this dear woman, shear their locks, and wear
The solemn garb of mourning. *T.*

Æolians as his slaves by right of inheritance:— He undertook therefore an expedition against Ægypt, and assembled an army for this purpose, composed as well of his other subjects, as of those Greeks who acknowledged his authority.

II. Before the reign of their king Psammitichus[2], the Ægyptians esteemed themselves the most ancient of the human race; but when this prince came to the throne, he took considerable pains to investigate the truth of this matter; the result was, that they believe the Phrygians more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind. Whilst Psammitichus was engaged in this enquiry, he contrived the following as the most effectual means of removing his perplexity. He procured two children just born, of humble parentage, and gave them to a shepherd to be brought up among his flocks. He was ordered never to speak before them; to place them in a sequestered hut, and at proper intervals to bring them goats, whose milk they might suck whilst he was attending to other employments. His object was to know what word they would first pronounce articulately. The experiment succeeded to his wish; the shepherd com-

2 *Before the reign of their king Psammitichus.*]—It is read indifferently Psammetichus, Psammitichus, and Psammietichus.

According to Justin, the Scythians believed themselves to be more ancient than the Ægyptians.

plied with each particular of his directions, and at the end of two years, on his one day opening the door of their apartment, both the children extended their hands towards him, as if in supplication, and pronounced the word Becos[3]. It did not at first excite his attention, but on their repeating the same expression, whenever he appeared, he related the circumstance to his master, and at his command, brought the children to his presence. When Psammitichus had heard them repeat this same word, he endeavoured to discover among what people it was in use: he found it was the Phrygian name for bread[4]. From seriously revolving this incident, the Ægyptians were induced to allow the Phrygians to be of greater antiquity than themselves.

[3] *Becos.*]—These infants, in all probability, pronounced the word Bec, the cry of the animals which they imitated, *os* being a termination appropriate to the Greek language.—*Larcher.*—To this anecdote Quintilian alludes, when he says in his 10th book—

All the language we learn is first transmitted to us through the channel of the ears; for which reason infants, whom some princes had the curiosity of having brought up by mute nurses in desert places, though they are said to have uttered some words, yet they remained destitute of the faculty of speaking.

A similar story to this is told of James the 4th of Scotland, who confined two infants in one of the Hebrides, under charge of a dumb attendant. When they grew up, they spoke Hebrew. Henry tells the story, and properly laughs at it, as Herodotus also should have done.

[4] *Bread.*]—Hipponax, speaking of the people of Cyprus, uses this word as signifying bread.—*Larcher.*

III. That this really happened, I myself heard at Memphis from the priests of Vulcan. The Greeks, among other idle tales, relate, that Psammitichus gave the children to be nursed by women whose tongues were previously cut out. During my residence at Memphis, the same priests informed me of many other curious particulars: but to be better satisfied how well the narrative which I have given on their authority, was supported, I made it my business to visit Thebes and Heliopolis[5], the inhabitants of which latter place are deemed the most ingenious of all the Ægyptians. I shall not think it expedient to say what I heard of their religious customs, more than the names of their deities, believing that all are well

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[5] *Heliopolis.*]—This place was not only celebrated for being in a manner the school of Herodotus: Plato here studied philosophy, and Eudoxus astronomy. Eusebius, Cyril, Augustine, and others affirm, that Plato got his information in Ægypt; and Mr. Bryant says there can be no doubt of it. See Bryant on the Plagues of the Ægyptians.—Plato resided three years at Heliopolis, where he was very intimate with the Priests of the Sun.—Ægypt was not only the school of Plato, but of Musæus, Melampos, Dædalus, Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Democrites, &c. See Diodorus Siculus.—*T.*

A barbarous Persian has overthrown her temples, a fanatic Arab burnt her books, and one solitary obelisk overlooking her ruins, says to passengers, this once was Heliopolis.—*Savary.*

Since this was written, a barbarian more sanguinary than Cambyses, and more frantic than Omar, has ravaged these devoted regions, and completed the destruction of all that the former spared.

informed on this subject. Whatever I may say will be merely what my narrative requires.

IV. In all which they related of human affairs, they were uniform and consistent with each other: they agree that the Ægyptians first defined the measure of the year, which they divided into twelve parts; in this they affirm the stars to have been their guides. Their mode of computation is in my opinion more sagacious than that of the Greeks, who, for the sake of adjusting the seasons accurately, add every third year an intercalary month. The Ægyptians divide their year into twelve months, giving to each month thirty days: by adding five days to every year, they have an uniform revolution of time. The people of this country first invented[6] the names of the twelve gods, and from them the Grecians borrowed them[7]. They were the first also who

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6 *First invented.*]—Larcher in a note vindicates the expression of first invented, but this was already done to his hands by Bentley, in his preface to Dissertation on Phalaris.—*T.*

7 *Grecians borrowed them.*]—At the same time that Plato confesses that the Grecian mythology was of foreign original, he derives Artemis from a Greek word signifying integrity; poseidon, from *posi, desmen*, chains for the feet; Pallas, from *pallein*, to vibrate, &c. Diodorus says, that the Greeks not only borrowed the names of their gods from Ægypt, but also their knowledge of the arts and sciences.—*T.*

If the Ægyptian year had consisted of three hundred and

erected altars, shrines, and temples; and none before them ever engraved the figures of animals on stone; the truth of all which they sufficiently authenticate. The name of their first king was Menes[8], in whose reign the whole of Ægypt, except the province of Thebes, was one extended marsh. No part of all that district, which is now situate beyond the lake Mœris, was then to be seen, the distance between which lake and the sea, is a journey of seven days*.

V. The account which they give of their country appears just and reasonable. It must be obvious to the inspection of any one of common sagacity, even though he knew it not before, that the part of Ægypt to which the Greeks now sail, formerly constituted a part of the bed of the river[9]; this may constantly be observed of

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sixty-five entire days, the seasons would be far from returning regularly at the same period. After some ages the winter months would be found to return in the spring, and so of the other seasons.—*Larcher.*

8 *Menes.*]—Diodorus Siculus agrees with Herodotus in making Menes reign in Ægypt immediately after the gods and the heroes.—*Larcher.*

* This distance answers to the lake of Kairun, which must therefore be regarded as a part at least of the famous lake Mœris.

9 *Bed of the river.*]—This sentiment was adopted by all the ancients, and a great part of the moderns. If it be true,

all that tract of country beyond the lake, to pass over which would employ a journey of three days; but this the Ægyptians themselves do not assert. Of this fact there exists another proof: if from a vessel bound to Ægypt, the lead be thrown at the distance of a day's sailing* from the shore [10], it will come up at the depth of eleven fathoms

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all the country from Memphis to the sea must have been formerly a gulph of the Mediterranean, parallel to the Arabian gulph. The earth must have been raised up by little and little, from a deposit of the mud which the waters of the Nile carry with them.—*Larcher.*

* Shaw says, that the black mud appears by soundings at the distance of twenty leagues. Surely the soil of Ethiopia must be of an extraordinary depth, in having not only bestowed upon Ægypt so many thousand annual strata, but in having laid the foundation likewise of future additions to it in the sea, to the distance of twenty leagues; so far at least, by sounding and examining the bottom of it with a plummet, the mud is found to extend.—p. 379.

[10] *Day's sailing from the shore.*]—For seven or eight leagues from the land they know by the sounding plummet if they are near Ægypt, as within that distance it brings up the black slimy mud of the Nile, that settles at the bottom of the sea, which is often of great use in navigation, the low land of this country not being seen afar off.—*Pococke.*

I know not whether it has ever before been remarked, but, it should seem, from the descriptions of modern travellers, that the approach to Alexandria in Ægypt greatly resembles the approach to Madras.—*T.*

It appears from Norden, that the Nile forms every year new islands in its course, for the possession of which the petty princes inhabiting the banks of the river eagerly contend.—*T.*

covered with mud, plainly indicating that it was brought there by the water.

The majority of travellers inform us, that upon an average, the water usually rises every year to the height of twenty-two cubits. In 1702 it rose to twenty-three cubits, four inches; in the year preceding it rose to twenty-two cubits eighteen inches: according to these travellers, the favourable height is from twenty-two to twenty-three cubits; according to Herodotus, from fifteen to sixteen.—The difference is seven.—*Larcher.*

No addition seems to have been made, during the space of five hundred years, to the number of cubits taken notice of by Herodotus. This we learn, not only from the sixteen children that attend the statue of the Nile, but from a medal also of Trajan, where we see the figure of the Nile, with a boy standing upon it, who points to the number sixteen. Fifteen cubits are recorded by the emperor Julian as the height of the Nile's inundation. Three hundred years afterwards the amount was no more than sixteen or seventeen; and at present, notwithstanding the great accumulation of soil, when the river riseth to sixteen cubits the Ægyptians make great rejoicings, and call out, Wafaa Allah! God has given all we wanted.—*Pococke.*

Twenty-four cubits is the greatest height to which the Nile was ever known to rise. When our countryman Sandys was there it rose to twenty-three.—*T.*

The following beautiful description of the time of the Nile's inundation is given by Lucan:

Whene'er the Lion sheds his fires around,
And Cancer burns Syene's parching ground,
Then at the prayers of nations comes the Nile,
And kindly tempers up the mouldering soil;
Nor from the plains the covering god retreats,
Till the rude fervour of the skies abates;
Till Phœbus into milder autumn fades,
And Meroe projects her length'ning shades:
Nor let enquiring sceptics ask the cause—
'Tis Jove's command, and these are Nature's laws. *Rowe.*

VI. According to our limitation of Ægypt, which is from the bay of Plinthene to lake Serbonis, near mount Casius, the whole extent of the coast is sixty schæni[11]. It may not be improper to remark, that they who have smaller portions of land, measure them by orgyæ, they who have larger by stadia, such as have considerable tracts by parasangs. The schænus* which is an Ægyptian measure, used in the mensuration of more extensive domains, is equivalent to sixty stadia, as the parasang is to thirty. Agreeably to such mode of computation, the coast of Ægypt towards the sea is in length three thousand six hundred stadia.

VII. From hence inland to Heliopolis[12], the country of Ægypt is a spacious plain, which,

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11 *Sixty schæni.*]—The Greeks, whose territories were not extensive, measured them by stadia; the Persians, whose region was still greater, used parasangs. The Ægyptians, whose country was more spacious than Persia, properly so called, applied in their mensuration schæni. Herodotus, when he observes that this last is an Ægyptian measure, indirectly informs us that the stadium and parasangis were not there used.—*Larcher.*

* Major Rennell has made it very satisfactorily appear that Herodotus has taken the schæne at one-third above its real standard. See the following note on this subject.

12 *Heliopolis.*]—Great confusion and perplexity have arisen among geographers, from there being two cities of this name, one in the Delta, the other in Higher Ægypt. M. D'Anville seems to have been ignorant of this circumstance, or, as Larcher observes, he would not have reproached He-

though without water, and on a declivity, is a rich and slimy[13] soil. The distance betwixt Heliopolis and the sea, is nearly the same as from the altar of the twelve deities[14], at Athens, to the shrine of Jupiter Olympus, at Pisa. Whoever will be at the trouble to ascertain this point, will not find the difference to exceed fifteen stadia: the distance from Pisa to Athens wants

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rodotus with ignorance. The place intended by the historian was that in Higher Ægypt, and is probably the On of Scripture, celebrated for the worship of the sun. A mean village, called Matarea, now stands on the ruins of this once famous place.—*T.*

In the report of Herodotus respecting the extent of Ægypt, he has made use of a stade which is totally different from that which he uses when he refers to Greece or Persia. This appears in a remarkable instance, where he assigns an equal number of stades within 15, to the space between Athens and Pisa, as between Heliopolis and the sea-coast of Ægypt, although the former be about 105, the latter 86 G. miles only; the one giving a proportion of 755, the other of 1,012 to a degree. So that he appears to have used stades of different scales, without a consciousness of it.—*Rennell*, p. 427.

13 *Rich and slimy.*]—The soil of Ægypt, except what it has received from the overflowings of the Nile, is naturally sandy. It is full of nitre, or salt, which occasions nitrous vapours, making the nights cold and dangerous. It is this, and the rich quality of the earth, which is the sediment of the water of the Nile, which makes Ægypt so fertile, that sometimes they are obliged to temper the rich soil by bringing sand to it.—*Pococke.*

14 *Altar of the twelve deities.*]—This was in the Pythic place of Athens. Pisistratus, son of Hippias the tyrant, dedicated it to the twelve gods when he was archon.—*Larcher.*

precisely fifteen stadia of one thousand five hundred, which is the exact number of stadia betwixt Heliopolis and the sea.

VIII. From Heliopolis to the higher parts of Ægypt[15], the country becomes more narrow, and is confined on one part by a long chain of Arabian mountains, which, from the north, stretch south and south-west, in a regular inclination to the Red Sea. The pyramids of Memphis[16] were built with stones drawn from these mountains, which from hence have a winding direction towards the places we have before described. I have been informed, that to travel along this range of hills, from east to west, which is the ex-

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15 *Ægypt.*]—Ægypt, in proportion as it recedes from the Mediterranean, is regularly elevated.

16 *Memphis.*]—If we give credit to some authors, the city of Memphis was situated in the place where at present stands the village of Gize; and I own that this opinion does not want probability. But if we attend to it carefully, we shall find it necessary to strike off a great deal of the grandeur of that ancient capital of Ægypt, or else raise extremely all the plains about it. In effect, Gize does not occupy the half of the space of Old Cairo; and the plains that extend all around never fail to be deluged at the time of the overflowing of the waters of the Nile. Is it credible that they should have built a city so great and famous in a place subject to be under water the half of the year? still less can it be imagined, that the ancient authors should have forgotten so particular a circumstance.—*Norden.*

The description here given by Herodotus is confirmed by Norden, by Savary, and all subsequent travellers.—*T.*

treme length* of the country, will employ a space of two months: they add, that the eastern parts abound in aromatics. On that side of Ægypt which lies towards Libya, there is another steep and sandy mountain, on which certain pyramids have been erected: these extend themselves, like

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* *Extreme length.*]—The whole extent of this country in length from Philæ and the cataracts downwards, has been esteemed to have been between five and six hundred miles. It consisted of three principal divisions, the Thebais, the Heptanomis, and Delta, and these were subdivided into smaller provinces, called by the Greeks, Nomes. Of these, according to Strabo, ten were in the Thebais, ten also in that portion called Delta, and sixteen in the intermediate region, which was styled Heptanomis. Herodotus tells us that the country was narrow, as it extended from the confines of Æthiopia downward, till it came to the point of Lower Ægypt, where stood a place called Cercasorum, by Strabo Cercesura. All the way to this place the river Nile ran for the most part in one channel, and the region was bounded on one side with the mountains of Libya, and on the other, which was to the east, with the mountains of Arabia. As the latter consisted of one prolonged ridge, Herodotus speaks of them in the singular, as one mountain, and says that it reached no farther than Lower Ægypt, and the first division of the Nile, which was nearly opposite to the Pyramids. Here the river was severed into two additional streams, the Pelusiac and the Canobic, which bounded Lower Ægypt, called Delta, to the east and to the west, while the original stream, called the Sebennetic, pursued its course downward, and after having sent out some other branches, at last entered the sea.—*Bryant.*

I have been induced to insert the whole of the above note, from its great perspicuity, which enables the common reader to comprehend more satisfactorily the description given of this country by Herodotus.

those Arabian hills which stretch towards the south. Thus the country beyond Heliopolis differs exceedingly from the rest of Ægypt, and may be passed in a journey of four days. The intermediate space betwixt these mountains is an open plain, in its narrowest part not more in extent than two hundred stadia, measuring from the Arabian to what is called the Libyan mountain, from whence Ægypt becomes again wider.

IX. From Heliopolis to Thebes[17] is a voyage of about nine days, or a space of four thousand

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17 *Thebes.*]—According to Norden, ancient Thebes was probably in the place where Luxor and Carnac now stand. A better idea of the magnificence and extent of Thebes cannot perhaps be given, than by the following lines translated from Homer:

> Not all proud Thebes' unrivall'd walls contain,
> The world's great empress on th' Ægyptian plain,
> That spreads her conquest o'er a thousand states,
> And pours her heroes through a hundred gates;
> Two hundred horsemen, and two hundred cars,
> From each wide portal issuing to the wars.—*Pope.*

Diodorus Siculus and Strabo both speak in the most exalted terms of its opulence and power. "Never was there a city," observes the former of these writers, "which received so many offerings in silver, gold, ivory, colossal statues, and obelisks." There were in particular four temples greatly admired. Near this place stood the celebrated vocal statue of Memnon. Its eastern part only was called Diospolis, according to Pococke. This traveller, without citing his authority, remarks, that in the opinion of some writers,

eight hundred and sixty stadia, equivalent to eighty-one schæni. I have before observed, that

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Thebes was the Sheba of the Scriptures; and that the Greeks, having no way of writing this word, altered it to Thebai.—Since the first edition of this work appeared, this place has been explored by multitudes of curious travellers, and it would be easy from the works of Brenne, Sonnini, and crowds of French writers, to fill many pages with curious particulars concerning the present condition of this remarkable city. I must be satisfied with generally referring the reader to those different publications, extracting only the following striking paragraph from Denon, the friend and companion of Bonaparte:

"At nine o'clock, in making a sharp turn round the point of a projecting chain of mountains, we discovered all at once the site of the ancient Thebes in its whole extent: this celebrated city, the size of which Homer has characterized by the single expression of, with a hundred gates, (a boasting and poetical phrase that has been repeated with so much confidence for so many centuries); this illustrious city, described in a few pages by Herodotus, by Ægyptian priests, that have since been copied by every historian, celebrated by the number of its kings, whose wisdom had raised them to the rank of gods by laws which have been revered without being promulgated, by science involved in pompous and enigmatical inscriptions, the first monuments of ancient learning which are still spared by the hand of time: this abandoned sanctuary, surrounded with barbarism, and again restored to the desert from which it had been drawn forth, enveloped in the veil of mystery and the obscurity of ages, whereby even its own colossal monuments are magnified to the imagination, still impressed the mind with such gigantic phantoms, that the whole army suddenly, and with one accord, stood in amazement at the sight of its scattered ruins, and clapped their hands with delight, as if the end and ob-

the length of the Ægyptian coast is three thousand six hundred stadia; from the coast to Thebes is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia; from Thebes to Elephantine [18] eight hundred and twenty.

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ject of their glorious toils, and the complete conquest of Ægypt, were accomplished and secured by taking possession of the splendid remains of this ancient metropolis."

Allowing for the pompous verbosity of the Frenchman, and presuming on the truth of his narrative, it must be confessed that the circumstance of a whole army making an instantaneous halt, as by one common emotion, at the sight of these ruins, and from the impression of their grandeur, presents the mind with a noble and magnificent picture.

[18] *Elephantine.*]—In this place was a temple of Cnuph, and a nilometer.—It is now called Kezieret el Sag, which, in Arabic, is "The Flowery Island."—The following account of its present condition is from Denon:

The Island of Elephantine became at the same time my country house and my palace of delight, observation, and research; I think I must have turned over every loose stone, and questioned every rock in the island. It was at its southern extremity that the Ægyptian town and the Roman habitations were situated, and the Arabian buildings which succeeded them. The part occupied by the Romans can only now be made out by the bricks, the tessellated pavements, and the small images of porcelain and bronze which are still found: the Arab quarter is only distinguished by the dunghills with which they have covered the soil, a common feature to all the ruins of this people. Every thing posterior to this time has disappeared, so as to leave scarcely the least trace of its existence, whilst the Ægyptian monuments remain devoted to posterity, and have resisted equally the ravages of man and of time. In the midst of this vast

X. The greater part of the country described above, as I was informed by the priests, (and my own observation induced me to be of the same opinion) has been a gradual acquisition[19] to the inhabitants. The country above Memphis, between the hills before mentioned, seems formerly to have been an arm of the sea, and is not unlike the region about Ilium, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the plain of the Meander, if we may be allowed to compare small things with great. It must certainly be allowed, that none of the streams which water the above country, may in depth or in magnitude compare with any one of the five arms of the Nile*. I could mention other rivers, which,

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field of bricks and other pieces of baked earth, a very ancient temple is still left standing, surrounded with a pilastered gallery, and two columns in the portico.

[19] *Acquisition.*]—This remark of Herodotus is confirmed by Arrian and by Pliny.—*T.*

* Herodotus first calls in this place this wonderful river by its popular name, the Nile. According to Shaw, the inhabitants pronounce it short, *Nil*, and he assigns reasons for this being a contraction of *Nahhal*, that is, The River, by way of eminence. Abdollatif derives it from *Nal*, which signifies to give or to be liberal. This, says Shaw, is rather a fine thought than a just account of the real origin of the name.

The Nile is called by the Greeks Μελας, that is the Niger. We are told by Pausanias, that the image of the Nile was black, whilst those of all the other river gods were white.

* The *Hindu* name for the Nile is Cali, and in the Sanscrit language Cala signifies black. The following is from Lieu-

though inferior to the Nile, have produced many wonderful effects; of these, the river Achelous[20] is by no means the least considerable. This flows through Acarnania, and, losing itself in the sea which washes the Echinades[21], has connected one half of those islands with the continent.

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tenant Wilford's Dissertation on Ægypt and the Nile, from the ancient books of the Hindus:

By the Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, the Nile, which is clearly a Sanscrit word, was known also by the following names:—Melas, Melo, Ægyptos Sihor or Sikhor, Nous or Nus, Aetos, Siris, Oceanus, Triton, Potamos. See this Dissertation in the Asiatic Researches, 8vo ed. vol. iii. p. 304, where many curious particulars may be found on this subject.

Mr. Wilford thinks that *Potamos* is derived from the Sanscrit word *padma*, which he says is the nymphæa of Linnæus, and most certainly the Lotus of the Nile.

When Herodotus speaks of the length of Ægypt, he reckons from the Sebennitic mouth.—*Larcher.*

[20] *Achelous.*]—This river, from its violence and rapidity, was anciently called Thoas. Homer calls it the king of rivers. Its present name is Aspro Potamo. Hercules, by checking the inundations of this river by mounds, was said to have broken off one of his horns; whence the cornucopiæ.—*T.*

The sea and the continent may be considered as two great empires, whose places are fixed, but which sometimes dispute the possession of some of the smaller adjacent countries. Sometimes the sea is compelled to contract its limits by the mud and the sands which the rivers force along with them; sometimes these limits are extended by the action of the waters of the ocean.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

[21] *Echinades.*]—These islands, according to the old Greek historians, are so close upon the coast of Elis, that many of

XI. In Arabia, at no great distance from Ægypt, there is a long but narrow bay, diverging from the Erythrean Sea*, which I shall more mi-

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them had been joined to it by means of the Achelous, which still continues to connect them with the continent, by the rubbish which that river deposits at its mouth, as I have had an opportunity of observing.—*Wood on Homer.*

The above note from Wood I have introduced principally with a view of refuting his gross mistake. Achelous is a river of Acarnania, and the Echinades close to that coast, and distant from Elis a considerable space. No descent of earth from Achelous could possibly join them to any thing but the main land; whereas Elis is in the Peloponnese.—*T.*

* It is a very common thing to confound the Red Sea and the Erythrean Sea. The appellation of Red Sea should be confined to the Arabian Gulph. The Erythrean Sea is that ocean which stretches from the Straits of Babelmandel to India. It was so called from some king, whose name was Erythras. Erythras in Greek signifies red, and this is all we know about it.—*T.*

Unfortunately, says Dr. Vincent, modern scepticism has destroyed the credit of King Erythras. It is now an opinion generally received, that the Red Sea is the Idumæan Sea, or Gulph of Arabia, taking its name from Edom or Esau, the Arabian Patriarch, and Edom signifies red. The Arabians were doubtless the first navigators of the Indian Ocean, and as they entered that sea by passing the Straits of Babelmandel, they carried the name of the Red Sea, from whence they commenced their course, to the utmost extent of their discoveries. Hence the Indian Ocean received the title of Red, and the Greeks, who translated every thing rather than introduce a foreign word, made it the Erythrean Sea. Not contented, however, with this, they usually found a god, a hero, or a king, whose name or story must be connected with the derivation, and hence we have Erythras for the present purpose. See Vincent's Nearchus, p. 319.

nutely describe. Its extreme length, from the straits where it commences, to where it communicates with the main, will employ a bark with oars a voyage of forty days, but its breadth in the widest parts, may be sailed over in half a day. In this bay, the tide* daily ebbs and flows; and I conceive that Ægypt itself was a gulph formerly of similar appearance, and that, issuing from the Northern Ocean, it extended itself towards Æthiopia; in the same manner the Arabian one so described, rising in the south, flowed towards Syria; and that the two were only separated from each other by a small neck of land. If the Nile should by any means have an issue into the Arabian gulph, in the course of twenty thousand years it might be totally choked up with earth brought there by the passage of the river. I am of opinion, that this might take place even within ten thousand years: why then might not a gulph †

* According to Arrian, the army of Alexander was overpowered with astonishment at seeing the effects of the tide at the mouth of the Indus. This seems rather remarkable, as this passage of Herodotus proves that the ebb and flow of the tide was a phenomenon neither unknown nor unobserved. See on this subject Dr. Vincent on the Voyage of Nearchus, p. 149.

† Herodotus reasons thus:—If the Nile were admitted to flow into the Arabian Gulph, the residuum of mud would fill it up in twenty, or even in ten, thousand years. If the whole of Ægypt, therefore, were once a gulph, it is not unlikely that it should have been choked up with mud, in the indefinite period of ages before his time. This is no argument that such a gulph ever existed.

still greater than this be choked up with mud, in the space of time which has passed before our age, by a stream so great and powerful as the Nile?

XII. All, therefore, that I heard from the natives concerning Ægypt, was confirmed by my own observations. I remarked also, that this country gains upon the region which it joins; that shells[22] are found upon the mountains; and

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22 *Shells.*]—It is very certain that shells are found upon the mountains of Ægypt, but this by no means proves the existence of the Ægyptian gulph. Shells also are found upon mountains much higher than those of Ægypt, in Europe, Asia, and America. This only proves that all those regions have in part been covered by the waters of the sea, some at one time and some at another. I say in part, because it is certain, from the observation of the most skilful naturalists, that the highest mountains have not been covered with water. These, in the times of such general inundations, appeared like so many islands.—*Larcher.*

That the deluge was not universal, but to be understood as confined to the inhabitants of Palestine, was the opinion of many ancient writers, and in particular of Josephus: see his second book against Apion, where he speaks of Berosus. In confirmation of the above opinion of Josephus, I have somewhere seen the following verse from Genesis adduced. "And the dove came in unto him in the evening, and lo, in her mouth was an olive-leaf pluckt off." This, it has been urged, could not possibly be a leaf of an olive-tree which, for so great a length of time, had been immersed in water, and probably buried under mud and other substances. Was it not, say they, gathered from some tree in the more elevated parts of Asia, to which the inundation of Noah had

that an acrid matter[23] exudes from the soil, which has proved injurious even to the pyramids[24];

not extended? As to the circumstance of shells being frequently found on the summits of mountains, many naturalists are of opinion that this may have been produced by earthquakes, to which cause also the deluge has by some been ascribed. Our countryman, Woodward, considers this fact of shells being found on mountains, as an incontestable proof of a deluge; which opinion is contradicted by Linnæus, in his System of Nature, who says, that he could find no certain marks of a deluge any where; his words are, "Cataclysmi universalis certa rudera ego nondum attigi, quousque penetravi." In return, we have recently been informed by Sir William Jones, that in the oldest mythological books of Indostan there is a description of the deluge, nearly corresponding with that of the Scriptures. After all, it is my opinion, that the dove returning with an olive-leaf, plückt off, was the strongest proof of the universality of the deluge; for hereby "Noah knew that the waters were abated from the earth." After the waters had covered the earth 150 days, "the tops of the mountains were seen;" a plain proof that they had been covered; and whether the waters were in a stagnated or a turbulent state, there can be no reason why the leaves of trees should not float on their surface either singly or adhering to branches.

[23] *Acrid matter.*]—In every part of Ægypt, on digging, a brackish water is found, containing natrum, marine salt, and a little nitre. Even when the gardens are overflowed for the sake of watering them, the surface of the ground, after the evaporation and absorption of the water, appears glazed over with salt.—*Volney.*

[24] *Injurious to the pyramids.*]—Norden informs us, that the stones of the great pyramid on the north side are rotten; but he assigns no cause for this phenomenon.—*T.*

It appears from experiment, that the water of the Nile

and that the only mountain in Ægypt which produces sand is the one situate above Memphis. Neither does Ægypt possess the smallest resemblance to Arabia, on which it borders, nor to Libya and Syria, for the sea-coast of Arabia is possessed by Syrians. It has a black and crumbling* soil, composed of such substances as the river in its course brings down from Æthiopia. The soil of Libya we know to be red and sandy; and the earth, both of Arabia and Syria, is strong and mixed with clay.

XIII. The information of the priests confirmed the account which I have already given of this country. In the reign of Mœris, as soon as the river rose to eight cubits, all the lands above Memphis were overflowed; since which a period of about nine hundred years has elapsed; but at

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leaves a precipitation of nitre; and all travellers, of all ages, make mention of the nitrous quality of the atmosphere. To this cause Pococke and Savary agree in imputing those diseases of the eyes, so common and so fatal in Ægypt. Eight thousand blind people, according to this latter author, are decently maintained in the great mosque of Grand Cairo. It may seem a little remarkable, that of this quality and probable effect of the air, Herodotus should make no mention.—*T.*

*The soil or mud that is thus conveyed, buoyed up into the stream, is of an exceedingly light nature, and feels to the touch like what we commonly call an impalpable powder.—*Shawe.*

present, unless the river rises to sixteen[25], or at least fifteen cubits, its waters do not reach those lands.

If the ground should continue to elevate itself as it has hitherto done, by the river's receding from it, the Ægyptians below the lake Mœris, and those who inhabit the Delta, will be reduced to the same perplexity which, they themselves affirm, menaces the Greeks. For as they understand that Greece is fertilized and refreshed by rain, and not by rivers like their own, they predict that the inhabitants, trusting to their usual supplies, will probably suffer[26] the miseries of famine; meaning, that as they have no resource, and only such water as the clouds supply, they must inevitably perish if disappointed of rain at the proper seasons.

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[25] *To sixteen.*]—See remarks on chapter 5th.—*T.*

[26] *Probably suffer.*]—It follows, therefore, that the Ægyptians had no knowledge of those seven years of famine which afflicted their country during the administration of Joseph. These, however, were the more remarkable, as occasioning an entire change in the constitution of the state. The people at first gave their gold and their silver to the prince in exchange for corn: they afterwards resigned to him their flocks and their herds, and ultimately became his slaves.—*Larcher.*

I am rather surprized to find this note left in the 2d edition of Larcher, particularly after the manly and honest profession of his preface; where he says, "Intimement convaincu de toutes les vérités qu'enseigne la Religion Chrétienne, j'ai retranché ou reformé toutes les notes qui pouvoient la blesser.

XIV. Such being the just sentiments of the Ægyptians with respect to Greece, let us enquire how they themselves are circumstanced. If, as I before remarked, the country below Memphis, which is that where the water has receded, should progressively, from the same cause, continue to extend itself, the Ægyptians who inhabit it, might have still juster apprehensions of suffering from famine. For in that case, their lands, which are never fertilized by rain[27], could not receive benefit

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[27] *By rain.*]—In Upper Ægypt they have sometimes a little rain; and I was told that in eight years it had been known to rain but twice very hard for about half an hour.—*Pococke.*

Maillet quotes Pliny, as affirming there were no rains in Ægypt; he however affirms that he had seen it rain there several times. Pitts, an eye-witness, confirms Maillet's account of the rain of Ægypt, assuring us that when he was at Cairo it rained to that degree, that having no kennels in the streets to carry off the water, it was ancle deep, and in some places half way up the leg. When the sacred writer therefore says (Zech. xiv. 11.) that Ægypt has no rain, he must be understood in a mollified sense.—*Observations on Passages of Scripture.*

It rains but seldom in Ægypt, the natural cause of which in the inland parts, is, I imagine, the dryness of the sands, which do not afford a sufficient moisture for forming clouds, and descending in rains.—*Norden.*

Rain is more frequent at Alexandria and Rosetta, than at Cairo, and at Cairo than at Mineah, and is almost a prodigy at Djirda.

When rain falls in Ægypt, there is a general joy amongst the people. They assemble together in the streets, they sing, are all in motion, and shout, *Ya Allah, Ya Mobarek* —Oh God, Oh Blessed.—*Volney.*

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from the overflowings of the river. The people who possess that district, of all mankind, and even

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The earth burnt up with the violent fervour, never refreshed with rain, which here falls rarely, and then only in the winter.—*Sandys.* On the subject of rain in Ægypt M. Niebuhr observes, that in Lower Ægypt it rains very often, and at Alexandria almost every day in November and December. Rain is not so uncommon at Cairo as some pretend to have remarked. I had been assured it sometimes does not fall there for two years together; but during my stay in that city, from November 1761 to August 1762, it fell very often, and in the first of these months so heavy, that, as the streets are not paved, it was impossible to cross them without boats.

It seldom rains in the inland parts of Ægypt, but upon the coast from Alexandria, all along to Damietta and Pineh, they have their former and their latter rains, as in Barbary and the Holy Land.

The following is from Vansleb, a French traveller of credit. The event which he describes happened a little above Cairo:—" Le Samedy une pluye ayant commencé de grand matin, elle dura jusqu'a midy sans discontinuer, et en si grand quantité que notre barque coula presque a fonds; et j'aurois souhaité pour lors que quelqu'un de ceux qui disent qu'il ne pleut point en Egypte y eut esté, car il auroit esté convaincu du contraire. Cette pluye fut suivie de vents froids et impetueux.

" La nuit suivante il fit encore une pluye aussi grande que cette du matin, et continua jusqu'a trois heures apres le lever du soleil. Lors que cet astre eut dissipé les nuages, il s'eleva un bon vent," &c.—p. 355.

The same author in another place:

" Le temps ordinaire des pluyes et des vents qu'on pourroit comparer avec nostre automne commence au mois de Decembre, et dure les mois de Janvier et Fevrier, quoy qu'a Alexandrie et a Rosette il pleuve encore hors de cette saison a cause du voisinage de la mer. Il pleuvoit fort a Rosette

of all the Ægyptians, enjoy the fruits of the earth with the smallest labour. They have no occasion for the process nor the instruments of agriculture, which are usual and necessary in other countries. As soon as the river has spread itself over their lands, and returned to its bed, each man scatters the seed over his ground, and waits patiently for the harvest, without any other care than that of turning some swine [28] into the fields, to tread down

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la veille de la Pentecoste de l'annee 1762, et le lendemain il tomba un brouillard tres epais. Le 24 de Novembre de la meme année il plut legerement au Caire, les jours estoient obscurs et venteux, il fit aussi des pluyes impetueuses les 10, 11, 14, et 15 du meme mois. Ce qui fait voir qu'il est faux ce qu'un dit ordinairement qu'il ne pleut pas en Ægypte."—p. 37.

[28] *Swine.*—Plutarch, Eudoxus, and Pliny relate the same fact. Valcnaer does not hesitate to consider it a fable invented by Herodotus; and the sagacious Wesseling seems to be of the same opinion, though he has not rejected the expression. Gale, not thinking swine adapted to tread down the grain, has substituted oxen, because, in Hesychius and Phavorinus, the word *us* seems to signify an ox. They are at present made use of in some of our provinces, to find out truffles, with a kind of muzzle to prevent their devouring them. My own opinion on this matter is, that Herodotus is mistaken only with regard to the time when they were admitted into the fields. It was probably before the corn was sown, that they might eat the roots of the aquatic plants, which might prove of injury to the grain.—See *Diodorus Siculus.*

It has been objected, that the Ægyptians considered swine as unclean animals, and that therefore probably they had not a sufficient number of them for the purposes here spe-

the grain. These are at the proper season again let loose, to shake the corn from the ear, which is then gathered.

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cified. To this I reply, that as they sacrificed them at the time of every full moon to the Moon and to Bacchus, they had probably a great abundance of these animals.—*Larcher.*

I dare assert, by what I have seen, that there is scarce a country where the land has greater need of culture, than in Ægypt. I must own that in the Delta, which is more frequented and more cultivated, the mechanical contrivances are more plain and simple than what you will find higher up in the country.—*Norden.*

They spread out the corn when reaped, and an ox draws a machine about on it, which, together with the treading of the ox, separates the grain from the straw, and cuts the straw.—*Pococke.* And here we may take notice of the wonderful providence of God, which not only sends at a certain time rains in Ethiopia to moisten Ægypt, where it hardly rains at all, but which moreover affords to its mud a fatness which so far meliorates the lean and sandy soil of this country, which is the driest in the whole world, that the husbandmen are obliged before they sow, to cast sand upon the earth to correct the excessive fatness of the mud which the water in running off has left behind. The rest of Ægypt, which is not overflowed with the waters of the Nile, is altogether sandy and barren.—*Le Bruyn.*

The fertility of the mud of the Nile is thus described by Spenser:

As when old father Nilus 'gins to swell
With timely pride above th' Ægyptian vale;
His fatty waves do fertile slime outwell,
And overflow each plain and lowly dale;
But when his latter ebb 'gins to avail,
Huge heaps of mud he leaves, wherein then breed
Ten thousand kinds of creatures, partly male
And partly female, of his fruitful seed.

XV. If we follow the tradition of the Ionians, it will appear that all which may be properly denominated Ægypt, is limited to the Delta. This region, from the watch-tower erected by Perseus, extends along the coast to the salt-pits of Pelusium, to the length of forty schæni. From the coast inland it stretches to the city of Cercasora[29], where the Nile divides itself into two branches, one of which is termed Pelusium, the other Canopus. Of the rest of Ægypt, they affirm that part of it belongs to Libya, and part to Arabia, which if it be true we shall be obliged to conclude that formerly the Ægyptians had no country at all*. The Delta, as they themselves assert, and

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29 *Cercasora.*]—Concerning the etymology of this place, consult Bryant, vol. i. 357.—*T.*

* Grobert, one of the most intelligent of the French who have written on the subject of Ægypt, thus expresses himself:

Le soupçon d'Herodote a été confirmé par l'avis de plusieurs ecrivains. Des indices encore plus authentiques sont la quantité et la qualité des coquillages que l'on trouve aupres des pyramides. J'y ai recueilli des *clorisses* de Provence bien conservées et une grande quantité de coquilles usées par le sable. Peut-etre une grande portion de l'Afrique a-t-elle été couverte par les eaux qui comblent en ce moment le bassin de le Mediterranée: les Arabes de le Bahíré attestent que l'on trouve des coquilles dans leur deserts.

Vansleb gives from some writer, whom he does not name, the following arguments against Lower Ægypt being the gift of the Nile. The first is from Homer, who makes mention of Canopus, which place was known to exist, and in the same spot, from very remote antiquity. Another argument is from the testimony of Moses and David.

Janis,

as I myself was convinced by observation, is still liable to be overflowed, and was formerly covered with water[30]. Under these circumstances, their curiosity to examine whether they were the most ancient of the human race[31] must seem preposterous, and their experiment of the two children to discover what language they should first speak, was absurd and unnecessary. For my own part, I am of opinion, that the Ægyptians did not commence their origin with the Delta, but from the first existence of the human race. That as their country became more extensive, some remained in their primitive places of residence, whilst others migrated to a lower situation. Hence it was that

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Janis, the Zoan of Scripture, was the royal residence of Pharaoh, and situated at one of the mouths of the Nile. See Psalm 78.

Marvellous works did he in the sight of our forefathers in the land of Ægypt, even in the field of Zoan.—Its present name of San bears some affinity to its ancient appellation of Tanis.

30 *Covered with water.*]—Diodorus Siculus is also of opinion, that Ægypt formerly was one extended sea, and that the land was formed by the mud brought down from Ethiopia by the Nile.—*T.*

31 *Ancient of the human race.*]—Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Æthiopians consider the Ægyptians as one of their colonies, at the head of which was Osiris. He observes also in another place, that the inhabitants of the Thebaid consider themselves as the most ancient of mankind. This historian, doubtless, had a view to the traditions of the two people, without giving us his own opinion.—*Larcher.*

Thebes, comprising a tract of land which is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia in circumference, went formerly under the name of Ægypt.

XVI. If my opinion concerning Ægypt be true, that of the Ionians must certainly be wrong; if on the contrary the Ionians are right in their conjecture, it will not be difficult to prove that the Greeks, as well as the Ionians, are mistaken in their account of the earth; of which they affirm that Europe, Asia, and Libya* constitute the proper division: but if the Delta belong neither to Asia nor Libya, it makes by

* Many of the ancients divided the world into two parts only, Europe and Asia; Africa was made to belong to Europe.

Tertia pars rerum Libye, si credere famæ
Cuncta velis, at si ventos cœlumque sequaris
Pars erit Europæ. *Lucan.*

Thus translated, or rather paraphrased by Rowe.

If this large globe be portioned right by fame,
Then one third part shall sandy Libya claim;
But if we count as suns descend and rise,
If we divide by East and West the skies,
Then with fair Europe Libya shall combine,
And both to make the Western half shall join.

Isocrates says, the whole earth is divided into two parts, Asia and Europe; yet some authors add Africa to Asia. Thus Silius Italicus:

Æoliis cañdens austris et lampade Phœbi
Æstifero Libye torretur subdita cancro,
Aut ingens Asiæ latus, aut pars tertia terris.

itself necessarily a fourth and distinct portion of the globe; for, according to the above mode of reasoning, the Nile cannot completely form the division between Asia and Libya; at the extremity of the Delta it is separated into two branches, and the country lying between, cannot properly belong either to Asia or Libya.

XVII. Avoiding farther comment upon the sentiments of the Ionians, I myself am of opinion, that all the tract of country inhabited by Ægyptians is properly termed Ægypt, as the countries inhabited by the Cilicians and Assyrians, are respectively denominated Cilicia and Assyria. I must also think that the land of Ægypt alone constitutes the natural and proper limits of Asia and Libya. If we follow the opinion received among the Greeks, we are to consider the whole of Ægypt commencing from the cataracts and the city Elephantine, as divided into two parts, with distinct appellations, the one belonging to Libya, the other to Asia; the Nile, beginning at the cataract, flows through the centre of Ægypt, and empties itself into the sea. As far as the city Cercasora, it proceeds in one undivided channel, but it there separates itself into three branches[32]: that which directs itself towards

[32] *Three branches.*] This river, whose source has not yet been explored, comes by one single channel from Æthiopia

the east is called the Pelusian mouth, the Canopic inclines to the west; the third in one continued line meets the point of the Delta, which dividing

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to the point of the Delta; arrived here, it separates itself into three principal branches: of these, one takes a direction towards the east, and is called the Pelusian channel; a second proceeds northward, and is called the Sebennitic branch; the third flows towards the west, and takes the name of the Canopic branch. The Sebennitic arm is divided into two others, the Saitic and the Mendesian: the Saitic is between the Bolbitine, which is an artificial branch, and the Sebennitic. The Bucolic also is the production of the inhabitants, and flows betwixt the Sebennitic, from which it proceeds, and the Mendesian. Thus the seven branches of the Nile, from east to west, are the Pelusian, the Mendesian, the Bucolic, the Sebennitic, the Saitic, the Bolbitine, and the Canopic.—Such is the account of Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

The different appearances which the Nile exhibits in its course is beautifully described by Lucan, and is thus not unskilfully translated by Rowe:

> Who that beholds thee, Nile, thus gently flow,
> With scarce a wrinkle on thy glassy brow,
> Can guess thy rage when rocks resist thy force,
> And hurl thee headlong in thy downward course;
> When sporting cataracts thy torrent pour,
> And nations tremble at the deaf'ning roar;
> When thy proud waves with indignation rise,
> And dash their foamy fury to the skies?

The Arabian account of the Nile and its different divisions, may be found in the Bibliothèque Orientale of Herbelot, which the curious reader will do well to compare with the description given by Herodotus, and that of modern travellers, particularly of Pococke, Norden, Volney, and Savary.—*T.*

in two, it finally pours itself into the sea; this arm is equally celebrated, and not inferior in the depth of its waters; it is called the Sebennitic mouth, and this again divides itself into two branches; one is called the Saitic, and one the Mendesian channel; both empty themselves into the sea. There are two other mouths, the Bolbitinian and the Bucolic; these are not produced by nature, but by art.

XVIII. My opinion concerning the extent of Ægypt, receives farther confirmation from the oracle of Ammon, of which however I had no knowledge, till my mind was already satisfied on the subject. The people of Marea and Apis, who inhabit the borders of Libya, thinking themselves to be not Ægyptians but Libyans, both of them disliked the religious ceremonies of the country, and that particular restriction which did not permit them to kill heifers for food: they sent therefore to Ammon, declaring that they had no connection with the Ægyptians; for they lived beyond the Delta, had their opinions and prejudices as distinct as possible, and wished to have no restriction in the article of food. The deity signified his disapprobation of their conduct, and intimated that every part of that region which was watered by the Nile, was strictly to be denominated Ægypt; and that all who

dwelt below Elephantine, and drank of this stream[33], were Ægyptians.

XIX. In its more extensive inundations, the Nile does not overflow the Delta only, but part of that territory which is called Libyan, and sometimes the Arabian frontier, and extends about the space of two days journey on each side, speaking on an average. Of the nature of this river[34] I could obtain no certain information, from the priests or from others. It was nevertheless my particular desire to know why the Nile, beginning at the summer solstice[35], conti-

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[33] *Drank of this stream.*]—The ancients, says Strabo, confined the appellation of Ægypt to the inhabited country watered by the Nile, from the environs of Syene to the Sea.

[34] *This river.*]—That the Nile was considered by the natives as a tutelar deity, appears from the following passages of Tibullus and of Statius.

Nile pater, quanam possum te dicere causa
Aut quibus in terris acculuisse caput?
Te propter, nullos tellus tua postulat imbres
Arida nec pluris supplicat herba Jovi,
Te canit atque suum pubes miratur Osirin
Barbara, Memphitem plangere docta bovem.

Tibullus.

See also Statius, Theb. 4.

Tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris
Pro Jove. *T.*

[35] *Summer solstice.*]—The inundation commences regularly about the month of July, or three weeks after the rains have begun to fall in Æthiopia.

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nues gradually to rise for the space of one hundred days, after which for the same space it as gradually recedes, remaining throughout the winter, and till the return of the summer solstice, in its former low and quiescent state: but all my enquiries of the inhabitants proved ineffectual, and I was unable to learn why the Nile was thus distinguished in its properties from other streams. I was equally unsuccessful in my wishes to be informed why this river alone wafted no breeze from its surface.

XX. From a desire of gaining a reputation for sagacity, this subject has employed the attention of many among the Greeks. There have been three different modes[36] of explaining it, two of

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The Nile is not the only river which increases its waters in the summer season; it has this property in common with many others, both of Africa and India.

As the chief increase of the Nile was when the sun was passing through Leo, the Ægyptians made the lion a type of an inundation, as we learn from Johannes Pierianus. He says that all effusion of water was specified by this characteristic; and he adds, that from hence has been the custom of making the water which proceeds from cisterns and other reservoirs, as well as spouts from the roofs of buildings, come through the mouth of a lion.—*Bryant; Plagues of Egypt.*

[36] *Three different modes.*]—Diodorus Siculus allows only two of these hypotheses to be Grecian; the one by Thales, the other by Anaxagoras; the third, concerning the ocean, he makes of Ægyptian extraction amongst the priests.—*Norden.*

which merit no farther attention than barely to be mentioned; one of them affirms the increase of the Nile to be owing to the Etesian winds, which by blowing in an opposite direction, impede the river's entrance to the sea. But it has often happened that no winds have blown from this quarter, and the phænomenon of the Nile has still been the same*. It may also be remarked, that were this the real cause, the same events would happen to other rivers, whose currents are opposed to the Etesian winds[37], which, indeed, as

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* These winds, as Herodotus properly observes, are frequently interrupted with winds from other quarters. Moreover, as Shaw remarks, if these winds do not blow directly from the North, but uniting, as they generally do, to the East or West, they will diverge from the mountains of Ethiopia, and direct their courses into the clouds and vapours, which accompany them towards the regions of Libya or Arabia. See Shaw, quarto ed. p. 378.

[37] *Etesian winds.*]—Of these winds the following account is given by Pliny:—In the hottest part of the summer the dog-star rises; this is usually the fifteenth day preceding the calends of August, when the sun enters Leo. About eight days before this star rises, the north-east winds rise, which the Greeks call Prodromi (fore-runners): about two days afterwards these winds increase in force, and continue for the space of forty days; these are called the Etesian winds.—*T.*

The most satisfactory explanation of the inundation of the Nile is given by Pococke. "It must be supposed," he observes, "that the north winds are the cause of its overflow, which begin to blow about the latter end of May, and drive the clouds formed by the vapours of the Mediterranean

having a less body of waters, and a weaker current, would be capable of still less resistance: but there are many streams, both in Syria and Libya, none of which exhibit the same appearances with the Nile.

XXI. The second opinion [38] is still less agreeable to reason, though more calculated to excite wonder. This affirms, that the Nile has these qualities, as flowing from the ocean, which entirely surrounds the earth.

XXII. The third opinion, though more plausible in appearance, is still more false in reality. It simply intimates, that the body of the Nile is formed from the dissolution of snow, which coming from Libya through the regions of Æthiopia, discharges itself upon Ægypt. But how can this

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southward, as far as the mountains of Æthiopia, which stopping their course, they condense and fall down in violent rains. It is said, that at this time not only men from their reason, but the wild beasts by a sort of instinct, leave the mountains. The wind, which is the cause of the rise of the Nile, driving the clouds against those hills, is also the cause of it in another respect, as it drives in the water from the sea, and keeps back the waters of the river, in such a manner as to raise the waters above." For farther particulars on this curious subject, see Pococke.—*T.*

[38] *The second opinion.*]—This second was the opinion of Euthymenes of Marseilles. According to Diodorus Siculus it was the prevailing sentiment of the Ægyptian priests.—*T.*

river, descending from a very warm to a much colder climate, be possibly composed of melted snow? There are many other reasons concurring to satisfy any person of good understanding, that this opinion is contrary to fact. The first and the strongest argument may be drawn from the winds, which are in these regions invariably hot: it may also be observed, that rain and ice are here entirely unknown [39]. Now if in five days [40] after a fall of snow it must necessarily rain, which is indisputably the case, it follows, that if there were snow in those countries, there would certainly be rain. The third proof is taken from the colour of the natives, who from excessive heat are universally black; moreover, the kites and the swallows are never known to migrate [41]

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39 *Rain and ice are here entirely unknown.*]—Nonnus reports, in the history of his embassy, that during the period when the Nile inundates Ægypt, there are very violent storms in the different parts of Æthiopia. The atmosphere is exceedingly cloudy, and the rains fall in such torrents as to inundate the country.

The Portuguese missionaries inform us, that from June to September there does not pass a day in Abyssinia without rain, and that the Nile receives all the rivers, streams, and torrents, which fall from the mountains.—*Larcher.*

40 *If in five days.*]—Herodotus had probably remarked, that at Halicarnassus or at Thurium, where he lived, snow was in the space of a few days succeeded by rain.—*Wesseling.*

41 *Never known to migrate.*]—The kites and swallows of those regions through which the Nile flows continue there throughout the year without injury: differing in this respect from those of our climate, it may be reasonably concluded that those regions are of a warm temperature.—*Reiske.*

from this country; the cranes also, flying from the severity of a Scythian winter, pass that cold season here. If therefore it snowed although but little in those places through which the Nile passes, or in those where it takes its rise, reason demonstrates that none of the above-mentioned circumstances could possibly happen.

XXIII. The argument which attributes to the ocean[42] these phænomena of the Nile, seems rather to partake of fable, than of truth or sense. For my own part, I know no river of the name of Oceanus; and am inclined to believe that Homer, or some other poet of former times, first invented and afterwards introduced it in his compositions.

XXIV. But as I have mentioned the preceding opinions only to censure and confute them, I may be expected perhaps to give my own sentiments on this subject.—It is my opinion that the

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[42] *Ocean.*]—Larcher refers to the circumstance of Homer's mentioning the rising and setting of the sun in the ocean, as a proof of his excelling Herodotus in the science of geography. Wood is of a very different opinion: "Upon further consideration," says Mr. Wood, "I was induced to think that Homer's account of the ocean, upon which so much of his geographical science is founded, will, if rightly understood, rather convince us of his ignorance on that head, and that the ocean in his time had a very different meaning from that which it now conveys; nor am I surprized that so much later, Herodotus should treat this idea of an ocean where the sun rises, as a poetical fiction." See Wood farther on this subject, p. 48, 50, &c.—*T.*

Nile overflows[43] in the summer season, because in the winter the sun, driven by the storms from

[43] *Nile overflows.*]—This explanation of the overflowing of the Nile in the summer, which seemed probable to Herodotus, is not only obscure but absurd, not to say false. This is sufficiently proved by Aristides, in his oration on the causes of the increase of the Nile.—*Reiske.*

This hypothesis of Herodotus is completely refuted by Diodorus Siculus, Book ii. 19, 20, 24.—The more ancient Ægyptians superstitiously believed that the overflowing of the Nile was occasioned by the sacrifice which they annually paid to the supposed divinity of the river. Every year, on the twelfth of their month Baoni, corresponding with our June, they threw a young woman superbly ornamented into the river. The relation of the following anecdote may be excused:

Amru, having conquered Ægypt, abolished this detestable custom; but in the year when he published this edict, the Nile did not overflow, and the people in alarm prepared to abandon their country. Amru wrote to the Caliph of Mahomet for advice. The Caliph sent him in return a letter addressed to the Nile, written in his own hand, which he was desired first to read, and then throw into the stream. Amru did this on the fourteenth of September, the last day of the rise of the Nile. That very night the river rose sufficiently to inundate the country, and the people were satisfied.

Hornemann, the last traveller from Ægypt into the interior of Africa, tells us that the above-mentioned custom of throwing a girl richly dressed into the *Niger*, was observed at Bornou.

"Not long ago, the same custom was observed at Bornou as in ancient times at Cairo, a girl very richly dressed was thrown into the river Niger."

It appears a reasonable subject of speculation why the same custom should be observed for the same purpose in places very remote, and among people between whom there could be so very little communication.

his usual course, ascends into the higher regions of the air above Libya. My reason may be explained without difficulty; for it may be easily supposed, that to whatever region this power more nearly approaches, the rivers and streams of that country will be proportionably dried up and diminished.

XXV. If I were to go more at length into the argument, I should say that the whole is occasioned by the sun's passage through the higher parts of Libya. For as the air is invariably serene, and the heat always tempered by cooling breezes, the sun acts there as it does in the summer season, when his place is in the centre of the heavens. The solar rays absorb the aqueous particles, which their influence forcibly elèvates into the higher regions, here they are received, separated, and dispersed by the winds. And it may be observed, that the south and south-west, which are the most common winds in this quarter, are of all others most frequently attended with rain: it does not however appear to me, that the sun remits all the water which he every year absorbs from the Nile, some is probably withheld. As winter disappears, he returns to the middle place of the heavens, and again by evaporation draws to him the waters of the rivers, all of which are then found considerably encreased by the rains, and rising to their extreme heights. But in summer,

from the want of rain, and from the attractive power of the sun, they are again reduced: but the Nile is differently circumstanced, it never has the benefit of rains, whilst it is constantly acted upon by the sun; a sufficient reason why it should in the winter season be proportionably lower than in summer. In winter the Nile alone[44] is diminished by the influence of the sun, which in summer attracts the water of the rivers indiscriminately; I impute therefore to the sun the remarkable properties of the Nile*.

XXVI. To the same cause is to be ascribed, as I suppose, the state of the air in that country, which from the effect of the sun is always extremely rarefied, so that in the higher parts of Libya there prevails an eternal summer. If it were possible to produce a change in the seasons, and to place the regions of the north in

44 *Nile alone.*] If the sun attracted moisture from the Nile during the winter season, it would do the same with respect to the other rivers of Libya, and in like manner diminish the force of their currents. As this is not the fact, the reasoning of this author falls to the ground. The rivers of Greece are encreased during the winter, not on account of their distance from the sun, but from the frequency of the rains.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

* Bruce also attributes the remarkable properties of the Nile to the sun, though he affects to laugh at the "Dreamers of Antiquity." Bruce also agrees with Herodotus in the highly rarefied state of the air.

those of the south, and those of the south in the north, the sun, driven from his place by the storms of the north, would doubtless affect the higher parts of Europe, as it now does those of Libya. It would also, I imagine, then act upon the waters of the Ister, as it now does on those of the Nile.

XXVII. That no breeze[45] blows from the surface of the river, may, I think, be thus accounted for:—Where the air is in a very warm and rarefied state, wind can hardly be expected, this generally rising in places which are cold. Upon this subject I shall attempt no farther illustration, but leave it in the state in which it has so long remained.

XXVIII. In all my intercourse with Ægyptians, Libyans, and Greeks, I have only met with

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45 *No breeze.*]—An immense body of water, from which no breeze is exhaled, naturally excites an idea of pestilence and putridity. The waters of the Nile, on the contrary, are not only wholesome but extremely delicious. Maillet informs us, that the Ægyptians are so fond of it, that they endeavour to procure an artificial thirst in order to drink the more of it. Of this acknowledged excellence of the waters of the Nile, Mr. Harmer avails himself to explain a passage in Exodus: "The Ægyptians shall loath to drink of the water of the river:"—that is, they shall loath to drink of that water of which they were formerly so fond. This may to some perhaps appear forced, but it is certainly ingenious.—*T.*

one person who pretended to have any knowledge of the sources of the Nile[46]. This was the priest who had the care of the sacred treasures in the temple of Minerva at Sais. He assured me, that on this subject he possessed the most unquestionable intelligence, though his assertions never obtained my serious confidence. He informed me, that betwixt Syene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine, there were two mountains, respectively terminating in an acute summit; the name of the one was Crophi, of the other Mophi. He affirmed, that the sources of the Nile, which were

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46 *Sources of the Nile.*]—Since the publication of the first edition of this work, Mr. Bruce, who travelled to Abyssinia for the express purpose of discovering their sources, has produced a voluminous, interesting, and valuable work, in which he takes to himself the merit of having accomplished his object. This, however, may reasonably be questioned; the real head of the Nile probably still remains undiscovered by Europeans, though the posture of it has in a general way been pointed out by Mr. Browne. The point fixed upon by Bruce is nearly the same which was long ago pointed out by Lobo; and our countryman is severely reprobated by Larcher for arrogating a merit to himself of which he is not worthy.

Every thing which Rennell observes on this subject, at p. 433 of his great work, deserves serious attention. He thinks the sources of the Nile are to the South rather than to the West; nearer to the meridian of Abyssinia, but by no means within that country.

There is certainly some perplexity and serious contradiction in what Herodotus says on this subject. In chapters 31, 32, and 33 of this book, he decidedly says that the Nile rises in the West. But, in chapter 30, he by inference makes it rise in the South.

fountains of unfathomable depth, flowed from the centres of these mountains; that one of these streams divided Ægypt, and directed its course to the north; the other in like manner flowed towards the south, through Æthiopia. To confirm his assertion, that those springs were unfathomable, he told me, that Psammitichus, sovereign of the country, had ascertained it by experiment; he let down a rope of the length of several thousand orgyiæ, but could find no bottom. This was the priest's information, on the truth of which[47] I presume not to determine. If such an experiment was really made, there might perhaps

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[47] *On the truth of which.*]—Herodotus could not have told us more explicitly that he disbelieved the whole of this narrative. On this occasion, Strabo speaks contemptuously of Herodotus, as a retailer of fables. But the geographer had not always so bad an opinion of him, for he frequently copies him without acknowledging it.—*Larcher.*

The old Ægyptians themselves, like the present Hindus, had a notion of a receptacle which supplied the Nile, and other great African rivers. The secretary of Minerva's temple informed Herodotus that the holy river proceeded from deep lakes between the mountains of Crophi and Mophi; that part of its waters took their course toward the North, and the rest to the South, through Æthiopia. But either the secretary himself was not perfectly master of the subject, or the historian misunderstood him; for Herodotus conceived that these lakes were close to Syene, and, as he had been there himself without seeing any thing of the kind, he looked upon the whole account as a fiction. It is not improbable, however, that the lakes were said by the secretary to be near the country of Azaria, or Azan, which was mistaken for Syene, in Ægypt, called Uswan, or Aswan.—*Willes, from Asiatic Researches.*

in these springs be certain vortices, occasioned by the reverberation of the water from the mountains, of force sufficient to buoy up the sounding line, and prevent its reaching the bottom.

XXIX. I was not able to procure any other intelligence than the above, though I so far carried my enquiry, that with a view of making observation, I proceeded myself to Elephantine: of the parts which lie beyond that city, I can only speak from the information of others. Beyond Elephantine this country becomes rugged; in advancing up the stream, it will be necessary to hale the vessel on each side by a rope, such as is used for oxen. If this should give way, the impetuosity of the stream forces the vessel violently back again. To this place from Elephantine is a four days voyage; and here, like the Meander, the Nile becomes winding, and for the space of twelve schæni there is no mode of proceeding but that above mentioned. Afterwards you come to a wide and spacious plain, and meet an island which stands in the centre of the river, and is called Tachompso. The higher part beyond Elephantine is possessed by the Æthiopians, who also inhabit half of this island, the other half belongs to Ægyptians. In the vicinity of the island is an extensive lake, near which some Æthiopian shepherds reside; passing over this, you again enter into a channel of the Nile, which

flows into the above lake. Beyond this[48] it is necessary, for the space of about forty days, to travel on the banks of the river, which is here so impeded with rocks, as to render the passage in a vessel impossible. At the end of these forty days the traveller enters a second vessel, and after a voyage of twelve days will arrive at Meroe[49], a very considerable town, and as some say the capital of the rest of Æthiopia. The inhabitants pay divine honours to Jupiter and Bacchus[50] only, but these they worship with the extremest veneration.

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[48] *Beyond this, &c.*]—This passage is mentioned by Longinus in terms of admiration, and quoted in his twenty-sixth section. The author says he takes you in this place as it were by the hand, and makes you a spectator of what he describes.

The above is also imitated by Lucian, in his Essay on Writing True History.—Having passed these islands, you will come to a great continent, &c.—*Larcher.*

[49] *Meroe.*]—The jesuit fathers, who resided long in that country, were of opinion that the kingdom of Gojam in Abyssinia was the ancient Meroe; this is disputed by Ludolf, and positively denied by Vossius. Father Lobo, in discussing this subject, enumerates the different opinions, and concludes with saying, that the ancients knew so very little of that part of Æthiopia, and have spoken so variously and so confusedly about Meroe, that as much may be said in favour of its being the modern kingdom of Gojam, as against it.—*T.*

[50] *Jupiter and Bacchus.*]—Strabo, in describing the manners of the Æthiopians, makes no mention of either Jupiter or Bacchus. Every thing, therefore, must have been changed from the age of Herodotus, to that of Strabo, or these two authors must have received very different impressions with respect to the two countries.—*Larcher.*

At this place is an oracle of Jupiter, whose declarations they permit, with the most implicit obedience, to regulate all their martial expeditions.

XXX. Leaving this city at about the same distance as from hence to Elephantine, your bark will arrive at the country of the Automoli, who are also known by the name of Asmach. This word, translated into our language, signifies those who stand on the left-hand of the sovereign. This people, to the amount of two hundred and forty thousand individuals, were formerly Ægyptian warriors, and migrated to these parts of Æthiopia on the following occasion. In the reign of Psammitichus they were by his command stationed in different places; some were appointed for the defence of Elephantine against the Æthiopians, some at the Pelusian Daphne *, others were de-

* The place where the sun is feigned to have performed his acts of religious austerity, is named the St'han or Stahein of Area, Surya and Tapana. As it was in the limit between the Dwepas of Cush and Sancha, the Purans ascribed it indifferently to either of those countries. I believe it to be the Taphantes of Scripture, called Taphna, or Taphnai, by the Seventy Interpreters, and Daphne in the Roman Itinerary, where it is placed sixteen miles from Pelusium. It is mentioned by Herodotus under the name of Daphnæ Pelusiæ, and by Stephanus under that of Daphne, near Pelusium; but the moderns have corrupted the name into Safnas.—*Wilford, in Asiatic Researches.*

tached to prevent the incursions of the Arabians and Assyrians; and to awe Libya there was a garrison also at Marea: at this present period

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Dr. Vincent imagines these people to be the Adouli or Aduli who inhabit the celebrated harbour and bay of Masuah. See his Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, p. 99. "That they are not of Hebrew origin, appears evident, notwithstanding their own pretension, and the arguments of Bruce, because, in the first place, the Jews among them continued a distinct tribe; and in the next, their language is written from the left hand to the right. Paolino, a missionary on the coast of Malabar, asserts, that though the character is different, the principle, genius, and constitution of their language is Shanskreet, a question well worthy of examination by those who are qualified to pursue it. But as far as private judgment is of weight, I must confess that the account of Herodotus has always appeared to me the most rational; that they are a nation of fugitives from Ægypt. Strabo, in copying this opinion, has added, that the appellation they give themselves is Sebritæ, a term which signifies Advenæ, the more remarkable, as Bruce observes that the original title by which they are distinguished in their own history and language, is that of Habesh, or Convenæ. It is impossible to suppose that the affinity of these two words is accidental. The flight of these exiles is fixed by Herodotus in the reign of Psammitichus, 630 years before Christ, and only 185 years before the date of his own history; he mentions that they went to as great a distance beyond Meroe, as Meroe is from Elephantine, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand; and that the name by which they are distinguished as a nation, was Asmack, or Askham, an appellation which Reiske and other Orientalists have supposed to allude to Axum, the Axuma or Axoma first mentioned expressly in the Periplus; a supposition which there is very little reason to discredit. In addition to this testimony of Herodotus, we have a

the military stations are regulated by the Persians, as they were under king Psammitichus; for there are Persian garrisons now stationed at Elephantine and Daphne. When these Ægyptians had remained for the space of three years in the above situation, without being relieved, they determined by general consent to revolt from Psammitichus[51] to the Æthiopians: on intelligence of which event they were immediately followed by Psammitichus, who, on his coming up with them, solemnly adjured them not to desert the gods of their country, their wives and their children. One of them is said indecently to have produced the mark of his sex, and to have replied, that wherever they carried that, they

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variety of evidence from other authors, that Aduli was built by exiles from Ægypt; and if Bruce had not had such a predilection for his shepherds, he must have discovered that the monuments he found at Axuma himself, the obelisk, the tot, the table of hieroglyphics, and the sphinxes, are perfectly Ægyptian, and not pastoral, Troglodytic, Meroite, or Greek.

[51] *Revolt from Psammitichus.*]—Diodorus Siculus assigns a very different reason for the revolt of these Ægyptians. "Psammitichus," says that historian, "having meditated an expedition against Syria, gave the place of honour in his army to strangers, and discovered on all occasions a preference to them, to the prejudice of his natural subjects." A predilection of a similar nature was the cause of those repeated and formidable revolts which so essentially disturbed the repose of Charles the fifth, on his first accession to the Spanish throne.—*T.*

should doubtless obtain both wives and children. On their arrival in Æthiopia*, the Automoli †[51] devoted themselves to the service of the monarch, who in recompence for their conduct assigned them a certain district of Æthiopia, possessed by a people in rebellion against him, whom he ordered them to expel for that purpose. After the establishment of the Ægyptians among them, the tincture which they imbibed of Ægyptian manners, had a very sensible effect in civilizing the Æthiopians.

XXXI. Thus, without computing that part of it which flows through Ægypt, the course of the Nile is known to the extent of four months journey, partly by land and partly by water; for it will be found on experience, that no one can go in a less time from Elephantine to the Automoli. It is certain that the Nile rises in the west, but beyond the Automoli all is uncertainty, this part of the country being, from the excessive heat, a rude and uncultivated desert.

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* Herodotus, as Rennell observes, gives a wide range to Æthiopia. He seems to understand by this term the whole of the southern part of Africa. It is worthy of remark, adds the same author, that Bruce mentions a certain people who had revolted or deserted in modern times, and joined a community in Abyssinia.

† [51] *Automoli.*]—Automoli is Greek, and means deserters.—*T.*

XXXII. It may not be improper to relate an account which I received from certain Cyrenæans: On an expedition which they made to the oracle of Ammon, they said they had an opportunity of conversing with Etearchus, the sovereign of the country: among other topics the Nile was mentioned, and it was observed, that the particulars of its source were hitherto entirely unknown. Etearchus informed them, that some Nassamonians once visited his court; (these are a people of Africa who inhabit the Syrtes, and a tract of land which from thence extends towards the east;) on his making enquiry of them concerning the deserts of Libya, they related the following incident: Some young men, who were sons of persons of distinction, had on their coming to man's estate signalized themselves by some extravagance of conduct. Among other things, they deputed by lot five of their companions to explore the solitudes of Libya, and to endeavour at extending their discoveries beyond all preceding adventurers. All that part of Libya towards the Northern Ocean, from Ægypt to the promontory of Soloeis*, which terminates the third division

* The promontory which Herodotus here calls Soloeis, in Melpomene, c. 43, he calls Syloes. In Hanno's Periplus it is Soloeis. Pliny named it Solis. Here, says Major Rennell, he clearly distinguishes three belts or regions parallel to the

of the earth, is inhabited by the different nations of the Libyans, that district alone excepted, in possession of the Greeks and Phœnicians. The remoter parts of Libya beyond the sea-coast, and the people who inhabit its borders, are infested by various beasts of prey; the country yet more distant is a parched and immeasurable desert. The young men left their companions, being well provided with water and with food, and first proceeded through the region which was inhabited; they next came to that which was infested by wild beasts, leaving which they directed their course westward through the desert. After a journey of many days, over a barren and sandy soil, they at length discerned some trees growing in a plain; these they approached, and seeing fruit upon them, they gathered it. Whilst they were thus employed, some men of dwarfish stature [52] came where they were, seized their persons, and carried them away. They were mutually ignorant of

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Mediterranean, the northernmost of which we must of course conceive to have been that which extended along the sea-coast, and was bounded on the south by Mount Atlas and other ridges; the middle one, that called the country of Dates, and the third the Great Desert, or Sahara itself. This place is now called Salee, from Sala, the name of its river.

See on the subject of this promontory, the Geograph. of Herodotus, p. 422, et seq.

[52] *Dwarfish stature.*]—The pigmies are as old as Homer. They

each other's language, but the Nassamonians were conducted over many marshy grounds to a city, in which all the inhabitants were of the same diminutive appearance, and of a black colour. This city was washed by a great river, which flowed from west to east, and abounded in crocodiles*.

XXXIII. Such was the conversation of Etearchus, as it was related to me; he added, as the

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They were not confined to Æthiopia, they were believed to exist also in India. Homer thus mentions them:

So when inclement winters vex the plain
With piercing frosts, or thick descending rain,
To warmer seas the cranes embodied fly,
With noise and order through the midway sky;
To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war descends upon the wing.—*Pope.*

Mention also is made of them by Pliny and Strabo. Pomponius Mela places them in a certain part of Arabia. P. Jovius says they are found in the extremities of the northern regions. The circumstance of their hostilities with the cranes is mentioned by Oppian, in his first book of Halieutics; by Juvenal, sat. 13; by Ovid, Fast. book vi. Mr. Gibbon, properly enough, treats the whole as a contemptible fable.—*T.*

* In the description of the Indus, Herodotus calls it the second river that produced crocodiles, meaning the Nile as the first. But here we have a third; and Hanno, who doubtless preceded him, mentions the Senegal River, though not by name, which makes of course the fourth.—*Rennell.*

It seems no unreasonable conjecture that this might be the Niger.—*T.*

Cyrenæans farther told me, that the Nassamonians returned to their own country, and reported the men whom they had met to be all of them magicians. The river which washed their city, according to the conjecture of Etearchus, which probability confirms, was the Nile. The Nile certainly rises in Libya, which it divides; and if it be allowable to draw conclusions from things which are well known concerning those which are uncertain and obscure, it takes a similar course with the Ister[53]. This river, commencing at the city of Pyrene[54], among the Celtæ, flows through the centre of Europe[55]. These Celtæ

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[53] *The Ister.*]—A description of this river cannot possibly be given better than in the words of Mr. Gibbon.—"The European provinces of Rome were protected by the course of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter of those mighty streams, which rises at the distance of only thirty miles from the former, flows above thirteen hundred miles, for the most part to the south-east, collects the tribute of sixty navigable rivers, and is at length, through six mouths, received into the Euxine, which appears scarcely equal to such an accession of waters."

[54] *Pyrene.*]—Many critics have supposed that Herodotus here intended to speak of the Pyrenean mountains; but this opinion cannot possibly be supported by any plausible reasoning.—*T.*

[55] *Centre of Europe.*]—This is not quite true. He means the same as when he observes, a little before, that the Nile divides Libya in the midst. But this mistake will not justify our following the example of Bouhier, who accuses Herodotus of confounding the Nile with the Niger.—*Larcher.*

The fact is, that Herodotus believed the Niger and the Nile to be one and the same.—*T.*

are found beyond the Columns of Hercules[56]; they border on the Cynesians*, the most remote of all the nations who inhabit the western parts of Europe. At that point which is possessed by the Istrians, a Milesian colony, the Ister empties itself into the Euxine.

XXXIV. The sources of the Ister, as it passes through countries well inhabited, are sufficiently notorious; but of the fountains of the Nile, washing as it does the rude and uninhabitable deserts of Libya, no one can speak with precision. All the knowledge which I have been able to procure from the most diligent and extensive enquiries, I have before communicated. Through Ægypt it directs its course towards the sea. Opposite to Ægypt are the mountains of Cilicia, from whence to Sinope, on the Euxine, a good traveller may pass in five days: on the side immediately opposite to Sinope, the Ister is poured into the sea. Thus the Nile, as it traverses Libya, may properly enough be compared to the

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[56] *Columns of Hercules.*]—Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait, of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The Columns of Hercules, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; and at the foot of the European mountain Gibraltar is now situated.—*Gibbon.*

* It is not easy to say who these people were. They are again mentioned in Melpomene, c. 49.

Ister. But on this subject I have said all that I think necessary.

XXXV. Concerning Ægypt itself I shall speak more at large; it claims our admiration beyond all other countries, and the wonderful things[57] which it exhibits, demand a very copious description.—The Ægyptians, born under a climate to which no other can be compared, possessing a river different in its nature and properties from all the rivers in the world, are themselves distinguished from the rest of mankind, by the singularity of their institutions and their manners*. In this country the women leave to the men[58] the ma-

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[57] *Wonderful things.*]—The Ægyptian nation might well abound in prodigies, when even their country and soil itself was a kind of prodigy in nature.—*Lord Shaftesbury.*

* They seldom admitted any rite or custom that had not the sanction of their forefathers. Hence Sir John Marsham truly tells us concerning them:

The Ægyptians, under the notion of foreign worship, seem to have been averse to every thing which had not been transmitted by their ancestors. They therefore for the most part differed in their rites and religion from all other nations. These borrowed from them, and also adopted the rites of many different people; but the Ægyptians seldom admitted of any innovation.—*Bryant on Plagues of Ægypt.*

[58] *The women leave to the men, &c.*]—This custom was contradictory to the manners of Greece.

'The employments of the two sexes prove, that in Ægypt the women had more authority than their husbands, although

nagement of the loom in the retirement of the house, whilst they themselves are engaged abroad in the business of commerce[59]. Other nations in weaving shoot the woof above, the Ægyptians beneath: here the men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders; women stand

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Herodotus says nothing of the matter. But Diodorus Siculus is of this opinion; and he thinks that by this peculiarity they wished to perpetuate the gratitude which they felt from the mild government of Isis. "Thus," says he, "in Ægypt, the queens are more honoured then the kings, and the influence of the women is greater also in private life. In the contracts of marriage it is stipulated, that the woman shall be mistress of her husband, and that he shall obey her in every particular.—*Larcher.*

Nymphodorus (in the Scholia to the Œd. Col. of Sophocles) remarks, that Sesostris seeing Ægypt become exceedingly populous, and fearing lest the inhabitants should conspire against him, obliged them to employ themselves in feminine occupations, in order to enervate them.—*Larcher.*

The present aspect of Ægypt exhibits a scene of very different manners. "Each family," says Savary, "forms a small state, of which the father is king, the members of it, attached to him by the ties of blood, acknowledge and submit to his power. When the master of the family dines, the women stand, and frequently hold the bason for him to wash, and serve him at table, and on all occasions behave to him with the extremest humility and reverence. The women spend their time principally among their slaves, in works of embroidery, &c.—*T.*

[59] *Business of commerce.*]—The same fact is mentioned in the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles, verse 352. It occurs also in Pomponius Mela, which, however, is little more than a translation of Herodotus.—*T.*

erect to make water, the men stoop*. The offices of nature[60] are performed at home, but they eat their meals publicly in the streets. In vindication of this they assert, that those things which, though necessary, are unseemly, are best done in private; but whatever has no shame attached to it, should be done openly. The office of the priesthood is in every instance confined to the men; there are no priestesses in Ægypt, in the service either of male or female deities; the

* I am given to understand that in India the men also stoop on such occasions. I have heard too that it is universal among the Mahomedans, and the reason is, their fear of contaminating themselves by any drops of urine falling on their cloaths. It is singular enough that the ancient Ægyptians should be distinguished by any mark of superstition in common with the disciples of Mahomet. See Fryer's Travels, p. 200.

As they are careful (speaking of the people of the East) what they take into their bodies, so are they solicitous to evacuate in good order, always squatting when they make water.

Again, the same author, p. 33;

Among them all it is common to make water sitting; it is a shame for any one to be seen to do otherwise.

Our countryman, Ellis, in his account of the Hudson's Bay Indians, relates that they observe the same usage as the ancient Ægyptians.

They differ also from almost all other nations in another particular, which is their manner of making urine, for here the men always squat down, and the women stand upright. p. 198.

[60] *Offices of nature.*]—For this purpose the Greeks went out of doors.—*T.*

men are under no obligation[61] to support their parents, if unwilling to do so, but the women are.

XXXVI. The priests of the gods*[61], who in other places wear their hair long, in Ægypt wear it

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[61] *Men are under no obligation.*]—In this barbarous custom I can by no means discern the so much boasted wisdom of the Ægyptians. The law of Solon seems much more commendable: this permitted a young man to neglect the maintenance of his father, and to refuse him admission into his house, if he had been prostituted by his means. He was nevertheless obliged, after his death, to give him sepulture, with the usual funeral solemnities.

The law of which Herodotus speaks had probably this foundation—The priests and the military having duties to perform which did not suffer them to take care of their parents, these in their sons' absence would probably have experienced neglect. It is well known that the priests were also judges, and that they were dispatched to different places to administer justice, and that of consequence they must often have been absent from their families.—*Larcher*.

But a still better reason for all this may be found in p. 345, where we are informed that women had more authority than their husbands.

* [61] *The priests of the gods.*]—Amongst the singularities which distinguished the Jewish priesthood, there is one so striking, that I cannot forbear pointing it out to the attention of the reader. The Jewish high-priest was not allowed to marry, except with a virgin. He was forbidden to marry either with "a widow, or a divorced woman, or profane, or an harlot." See Levit. xxi. 14. The discipline of the primitive christians was not in this instance much less rigorous: they were excluded from the priesthood who had either married two wives, or a widow, or whose wives had been guilty of adultery. If this last incident happened, they were either obliged to be divorced, or to renounce their profession.

It

short. It is elsewhere customary[62] in cases of death, for those who are most nearly related, to cut off their hair in testimony of sorrow; but the Ægyptians, who at other times have their heads closely shorn, suffer the hair on this occasion to grow. Other nations will not suffer animals to approach the place of their repast; but in Ægypt they live promiscuously with the people. Wheat and barley are common articles of food in other countries; but in Ægypt they are thought mean and disgraceful; the diet here consists principally of spelt, a kind of corn which some call zea[63]. Their

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It can by no means be impertinent to add, from Mosheim, that the christian doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people that the ministers of the christian church succeeded to the character, rights, and privileges of the Jewish priesthood, which persuasion was a new source of honour and of profit to the sacred order. Accordingly, the bishops considered themselves as invested with a rank and character similar to those of the high-priest among the Jews, while the presbyters represented the priests, and the deacons the Levites. The errors to which this notion gave rise were many, and one of its immediate consequences was the establishing in the Roman church a greater difference between the christian pastors and their flock, than the genius of the gospel seems to admit.—*T.*

62 *Elsewhere customary.*]—Amongst the Greeks when any sad calamity befalls them, the women cut their hair close, the men wear it long; in general the women wear their hair long, the men short.—*Plutarch.*

63 *Zea.*]—I suspect this to be a kind of bearded wheat. The *far*, *olyra*, *zea*, all mean a corn which we have not in cultivation, but which our writers call *spelt*.

What

dough they knead with their feet; whilst in the removal of mud and dung, they do not scruple to use their hands. Male children, except in those places which have borrowed the custom from hence, are left in other nations as nature formed them; in Ægypt they are circumcised[64]. The

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What Martyn says upon this subject very much deserves attention. See his note upon Georg. i. 73. at the word *farra*. "*Far*," says he, "seems to be put here for corn in general." It seems to me pretty plain that it is the ζεια or ζεα of the Greeks, and what we call in English *spelt*. It is a sort of corn very like wheat, but the chaff adheres so strongly to the grain, that it requires a mill to separate them, like barley. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says expressly that the Greeks call that ζεια which the Latins call *far*. The principal objection to this seems to be, that Pliny treats of *zea* and *far* as two different sorts of grain; but we may reasonably suppose, that what Pliny says of *zea*, was taken from the Greek authors, and that they are the same grain, notwithstanding his having distinguished them. Besides this, in the 219th verse of this Georgic, Virgil has given the epithet *robusta* to *farra*, which is the very same that Theophrastus has given to *zea*, &c.

64 *Circumcised.*]—"I am aware," says Mr. Gibbon, "how tender is the question of circumcision." He affirms, however, that the Æthiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males and even of females, and that it was practised in Æthiopia long before the introduction of Judaism or Christianity.

The above is one of Gibbon's sneers; of his two assertions on this subject, the one is very doubtful, and the other a positive falsehood.

The commencement of circumcision with the Jews was unquestionably with Abraham, and by the command of God.

men have two vests, the women only one. In opposition to the customs of other nations, the Ægyptians fix the ropes to their sails on the

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Marsham is of opinion, that the Hebrews borrowed it from the Ægyptians, and that God was not the first author of this custom. This latter is contrary to the testimony of Moses; the former position will admit of more debate. This practice, as it prevails amongst the Jews and Ægyptians, had a very different object: with the first it was a ceremony of religion; with the latter a point of decency or cleanliness, or as some say, of physical necessity. With the former it was performed on the eighth day from the birth of the child; with the latter not till the thirteenth year, and then on the girls as well as boys.

From the pain attending the operation, when performed at an advanced age, Mr. Harmer takes occasion to explain a passage in the Old Testament, concerning which commentators have materially differed.—*See Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. ii. p. 500.

After a generation's intermission, the Jews returned to circumcision under Joshua. See Joshua, v. 2. "And the Lord said unto Joshua, Make thee sharp knives, and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time."

The curious reader may also consult Exodus, chap. iv. to see what passed betwixt Moses and his wife Zipporah, on the subject of circumcising their son. Upon this last the author of the Characteristics remarks, that Zipporah, from reproaching Moses with the bloodiness of the deed, seems to have been a party only through necessity, and in fear rather of her husband, than of God.

In answer to this it may be observed by way of antidote to the poison of the noble author, that Zipporah was not more afraid of her husband than of God. Her speech on the occasion was perfectly natural. The omission of the rule of circumcision in the family of the man who was to vindicate the rights of Israel before Pharaoh, was a serious thing. It might with cavillers have affected the authority of

inside. The Greeks, when they write or reckon with counters, go from the left to the right, the Ægyptians from right to left; notwithstanding which they persist in affirming that the Greeks write to the left, but they themselves always to the right. They have two sorts of letters[65], one

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his mission. Under a deep impression of the impropriety of such omission, which had created an alarm from Heaven itself to Moses, Zipporah performs the act instantly, and then tells her husband she had bought or redeemed him from death by blood. This is Patrick's interpretation, and thus Geddes translates it—" a blood-bought husband art thou to me."

Upon this subject see also Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum. The above observations are compiled from the different writers on this curious topic. It may not be improper to add, that circumcision is sometimes used medicinally.—*T.*

[65] *Two sorts of letters.*]—Diodorus Siculus agrees in this respect with Herodotus. Clemens Alexandrinus and Porphyry remark, that the Ægyptians used three sorts of letters: the first is called epistolary, the second the sacerdotal, the third the hieroglyphic. Warburton, in his Divine Legation of Moses, attributes to the Ægyptians four sorts of letters. Although I am ignorant of the time when the Ægyptians first began to have an alphabet, I am satisfied it must have been long before the invasion of Cambyses.—*Larcher.*

Whilst this edition* was preparing for the press, a large stone was brought to this country from Ægypt, exhibiting the first specimen of these two sorts of letters which Europe had ever seen. It has the ancient Ægyptian alphabetic character, as well as the hieroglyphical. On this stone more hereafter.

* 1806.

of which is appropriated to sacred subjects, the other used on common occasions.

XXXVII. Their veneration of their deities is superstitious to an extreme: one of their customs is to drink out of brazen goblets, which it is the universal practice among them to cleanse every day. They are so regardful of neatness, that they wear only linen [66], and that always newly washed; and it is from the idea of cleanliness, which they regard much beyond comeliness, that they use circumcision. Their priests [67] every third

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[66] *Only linen.*]—So much was said by the ancients upon the linen of Ægypt, that many have been induced to suppose it remarkable fine, but it was certainly very coarse. The Greeks had no flax, and were not skilled in the art of weaving, which circumstances excuse the praise they have bestowed on the Ægyptian linen. It appears from the Philosophical Transactions of 1764, that Dr. Halley, after a minute examination of an Ægyptian mummy, found the upper filleting hardly equal in fineness to what was then sold in the shops for two and four-pence a yard; the inner filleting was coarser.—*T.*

[67] *Their priests.*]—For a more particular account of the peculiarities observed by the Ægyptian priests, see Porphyrius de Abstinentiâ, lib. iii.; from whom it appears, that their whole time was divided betwixt study and acts of devotion. It may not be improper to advertise the English reader, that the Institutions of Pythagoras appear to have been almost wholly founded upon the manners and customs of these priests.—*T.*

It is to be observed that God might, if it had been the Divine pleasure, have many different ways tainted and

day shave every part of their bodies, to prevent vermin [68] or any species of impurity from adhering

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polluted the stream of Egypt. But he thought proper to change it to blood. Now the Ægyptians, and especially their priests, were particularly nice and delicate in their outward habit and rites, and there was nothing which they abhorred more than blood. They seldom admitted any bloody sacrifices, and with the least stain of gore they would have thought themselves deeply polluted. Their affectation of purity was so great, that they could not bear to come in contact with a foreigner, or even to handle his clothes, but to touch a dead body was an abomination, and required to be instantly expiated. Martianus Capella mentions that the priests wore sandals made of papyrus, to prevent as they walked any such accidental pollution. On these accounts the priests were continually making ablutions. There were four stated times, twice in the day, and as often in the night, at which they were all obliged to bathe themselves. Many accidents caused them to repeat it much oftener; hence this evil brought upon them, must have been severely felt, as there was blood throughout all the land of Ægypt.—*Bryant on Plagues of Ægypt.*

Spenser thus describes Britomartis entering the Temple of Isis:

> There she received was in goodly wise,
> Of many priests that duly did attend,
> All clad in linen robes with silver hem'd,
> And on their heads, with long locks comely kem'd,
> They wore rich mitres.

Spenser, however, is wrong in part of his description, as the priests wore their hair short. See c. 36. See also Jortin on Spenser, p. 206.

68 *To prevent vermin.*]—In this respect the Jews were in like manner scrupulous: if a Jewish priest found any dirt or dead vermin betwixt his inner garments and his skin, he might not perform the duties of his office. *See Maimonides.*—*T.*

to those who are engaged in the service of the gods: the priesthood is also confined to one particular mode of dress: they have one vest of linen, and their shoes are made of the byblus; they wash themselves in cold water* twice in the course of the day, and as often in the night; it would indeed be difficult to enumerate their religious ceremonies, all of which they practise with superstitious exactness. The sacred ministers possess in return many and great advantages[69]: they are not obliged to consume any part of their domestic property; each has a portion of the sacred viands ready dressed, assigned him, besides a large and daily allowance of beef and of geese; they have also wine[70], but are not permitted to feed on fish[71].

* Porphyry says they bathed three times a day, and they who were most rigorous, used for this purpose water from which the Ibis had drank.—*T.*

[69] *Possess many and great advantages.*]—They enjoyed one great advantage, of which Herodotus takes no notice: Ælian positively affirms, that they were the judges of the nation; Larcher, from whom the above remark is taken, proceeds to a minute comparison betwixt the customs of the priests of Ægypt and those of the Jews.

See also Genesis, chap. xlvii. ver. 22; from which it appears that the priests of Ægypt had no share in the miseries of the famine. "Only the land of the priests bought he not, for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh," &c.

[70] *They have also wine.*]—This assertion of Herodotus is contradicted by other writers; but, as Montfaucon observes, the customs of the priests might vary according to times and places.—*T.*

[71] *Not permitted to feed on fish.*]—The reason of this,

Beans are sown in no part of Ægypt, neither will the inhabitants eat them, either boiled or

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according to Plutarch, was their excessive enmity to the sea, which they considered as an element inimical to man: the same reasoning they extended to the produce of the Nile, which they thought corrupted by its connection with the sea.—*T.*

Almost all the natives of the river were deemed sacred. They were sometimes looked upon as sacred emblems, at other times worshipped as real deities. One species of fish was named oxurunchus, and there was a city of the name built in honour of it, and a temple where this fish was publicly worshipped. A fish called Phagrus was worshipped at Syene, as the Mœotis was at Elephantis. The Lepidotus had the like reverence paid to it, as had also the eel, being each sacred to the god Nilus.—*Bryant.*

Mention is made in Isaiah of the fishes of Ægypt. The fishers also shall mourn, and all they that cast angle into the brooks shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters, shall languish; 19, v. 8.

The children of Israel also mention with regret the fish of Ægypt. Numbers xi. v. 5.

We remember the fish which we did eat in Ægypt freely, &c.

From this it should appear that fish was not only plentiful in Ægypt, but a delicacy. Yet some authors say that the Nile does not abound in fish, partly from its mud, and partly from the crocodiles. But as Harmer observes, fish might be plentiful in Ægypt, though not in the Nile. There are certainly lakes and great reservoirs of water in which fish appear in great quantities.

Various motives are assigned, why the Pythagoreans, in imitation of the Ægyptians, abstained from beans, by Plutarch, Cicero, and others. "The Pythagoreans," observes Cicero, "abstained from beans, as if that kind of food inflated the mind rather than the belly; but there is nothing so absurd which has not been affirmed by some one of the philosophers.—*T.*

raw; the priests will not even look at this pulse, esteeming it exceedingly unclean. Every god has several attendant priests, and one of superior dignity, who presides over the rest; when any one dies, he is succeeded by his son [72].

XXXVIII. They esteem bulls as sacred to Epaphus [73], which previously to sacrifice are thus carefully examined: if they can but discover a single black hair in his body, he is deemed im-

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[72] *Succeeded by his son.*]—Amongst the Ægyptians the priests composed a distinct class, as the Levites amongst the Jews, and the Brachmans with the Indians.—*Larcher.*

[73] *Bulls as sacred to Epaphus.*]—It was doubtless from the circumstance of this idolatry that Aaron erected the golden calf in the wilderness, and Jeroboam in Dan and Bethel.—*T.*

From the circumstance of the Ægyptians worshipping the ox, the cow, and the heifer, Bryant takes occasion to remark that the plague which affected the kine was peculiarly significant and apposite.

" This judgment displayed upon the kine of Ægypt was very significant in its execution and purport. For when the distemper spread irresistibly over the country, the Ægyptians not only suffered a severe loss, but what was of far greater consequence, they saw the representatives of their deities, and their deities themselves, sink before the God of the Hebrews." p. 102.

Ægyptiâ superstitione inquinatos Israelitas vitulum aureum coluisse certum est.—*Selden de Diis Syris.*

It is in this place not unworthy of remark, that Herodotus uses the word μοσχος, which may be interpreted *vitulus*. See also Virgil:

Ego hanc vitulam, ne forte recuses,
Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere fœtus,
Depono.

pure; for this purpose a priest is particularly appointed, who examines the animal as it stands, and as reclined on its back: its tongue is also drawn out, and he observes whether it be free from those blemishes[74] which are specified in their sacred books, and of which I shall speak hereafter. The tail also undergoes examination, every hair of which must grow in its natural and proper form: if in all these instances the bull appears to be unblemished, the priest fastens the byblus round his horns; he then applies a preparation of earth, which receives the impression of his seal, and the animal is led away; this seal is of so great importance, that to sacrifice a beast which has it not, is deemed a capital offence.

XXXIX. I proceed to describe their mode of sacrifice:—Having led the animal destined and marked for the purpose to the altar, they kindle a fire; a libation of wine is poured upon the altar; the god is solemnly invoked, and the victim then is killed; they afterwards cut off his head, and take the skin from the carcase; upon the head they heap many imprecations: such as have a market-place at hand carry it there, and sell it to the Grecian traders; if they have not this op-

[74] *Free from those blemishes.*]—See Numbers, chap. xix. ver. 2. "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee a red heifer without spot, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke."

portunity, they throw it into the river. They devote the head, by wishing that whatever evil menaces those who sacrifice, or Ægypt in general, it may fall upon that head [75]. This ceremony respecting the head of the animal, and this mode of pouring a libation of wine upon the altar, is indiscriminately observed by all the Ægyptians: in consequence of the above, no Ægyptian will on any account eat of the head of a beast. As to the examination of the victims, and their ceremony of burning them, they have different methods, as their different occasions of sacrifice require.

XL. Of that goddess whom they esteem the first of all their deities, and in whose honour their greatest festival is celebrated, I shall now make more particular mention. After the previous ceremony of prayers, they sacrifice an ox; they then strip off the skin, and take out the intestines, leaving the fat and the paunch; they afterwards cut off the legs, the shoulders, the neck, and the extremities of the loin; the rest of the body is

75 *Fall upon that head.*]—See Levit. ch. xvi. ver. 21. "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgression, putting them upon the head of the goat."

In imitation of the Ægyptians throwing the head of the ox into the river with imprecations, Mr. Bruce makes the Agens of Geesh perform some unknown ceremonies in a corner with the head of their black heifer.

stuffed with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, and various aromatics; after this process they burn it, pouring upon the flame a large quantity of oil: whilst the victim is burning, the spectators flagellate themselves [76], having fasted before the ceremony; the whole is completed by their feasting on the residue of the sacrifice.

XLI. All the Ægyptians sacrifice bulls without blemish, and calves; the females are sacred to Isis, and may not be used for this purpose. This divinity is represented under the form of a woman, and as the Greeks paint Io, with horns upon her head; for this reason the Ægyptians venerate cows* far beyond all other cattle, nei-

[76] *Flagellate themselves.*]—Athenagoras, in his Legat. pro Chris. ridicules this custom of the Ægyptians; Larcher quotes the passage, and adds, that it is somewhat singular that such a ceremony should seem ridiculous to a christian. Flagellation, however inflicted, or voluntarily submitted to as a penance, was subsequent to the time of Athenagoras.

It is a maxim, says Mr. Gibbon, of the civil law, that he who cannot pay with his purse must pay with his body. The practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, as a cheap though painful equivalent.

This is another sneer of Gibbon's; flagellation was in use not as an equivalent, but as a symptom of self devotion, ages before monks or Athenagoras were heard of. The sect of the Flagellants is another thing.

The thirteenth century, according to Mosheim, gave birth to the sect of the Flagellants.—*T.*

* The resemblance between many of the Hindoo customs and those of the ancient Ægyptians, is remarkably striking. The Hindoos venerate cows; put none on any account to death, &c. &c.

ther will any man or woman among them kiss a Grecian, nor use a knife, or spit, or any domestic utensil belonging to a Greek[77], nor will they eat even the flesh of such beasts as by their law are pure, if it has been cut with a Grecian knife. If any of these cattle die, they thus dispose of their carcases; the females are thrown into the river, the males they bury in the vicinity of the city, and by way of mark, one and sometimes both of the horns are left projecting from the ground: they remain thus a stated time, and till they begin to putrefy, when a vessel appointed for this particular purpose is dispatched from Prosopitis, an island of the Delta, nine schæni in extent, and containing several cities. Atarbechis[78], one of

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77 *Belonging to a Greek.*]—That the Ægyptians would not eat with strangers, appears from the following passage in Genesis, chap. xliii. ver. 32, "And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Ægyptians which did eat with him by themselves, because the Ægyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Ægyptians."

78 *Atarbechis.*]—Atarbec in Ægypt is the temple of Atar or Athar, called Atarbechis by Herodotus: the same is Athyrbet, and styled Athribites by Strabo.—*Bryant.*

Atar signifies Venus, and Bec a city, as Balbec the city of the sun, called by the Greeks Heliopolis.

Whoever wishes to be minutely informed concerning the various names and attributes of Venus, the different places where she was worshipped, and indeed every thing which antiquity has handed down concerning this goddess, will do well to consult the Mémoire sur Vénus, by Larcher, to which the prize of the French Academy was assigned in 1775.—*T.*

these cities, in which is a temple of Venus, provides the vessels for this purpose, which are sent to the different parts of Ægypt: these collect and transport the bones of the animals, which are all buried in one appointed place. This law and custom extends to whatever cattle may happen to die, as the Ægyptians themselves put none to death.

XLII. Those who worship in the temple of the Theban Jupiter, or belong to the district of Thebes, abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats. The same deities receive in Ægypt different forms of worship; the ceremonies of Isis and of Osiris, who they say is no other than the Grecian Bacchus[79], are alone unvaried; in the temple of Mendes, and in the whole Mendesian district, goats are preserved, and sheep sacrificed. Why the Thebans, and all who are under their influence, abstain from sheep, is thus explained: Jupiter, they say, was long averse to the earnest solicitations of Hercules to see his person; but in consequence of his repeated importunity, the god, in compliance, used the following artifice: he cut off the head of a ram, and covering himself with its skin, shewed himself in that form to Her-

79 *The Grecian Bacchus.*]—The Ægyptians maintain, that their god Osiris is no other than the Dionusus of Greece. In like manner the Indi assure us, that it is the same deity who is conversant in their country.—*Diodorus Sic.* l. iv. 210.

cules: from this incident, the Ægyptian statues of Jupiter represent that divinity with the head of a ram. This custom was borrowed of the Ægyptians by the Ammonians, who are composed partly of Ægyptians, and partly of Æthiopians, and whose dialect is formed promiscuously of both those languages. The Ægyptians call Jupiter, Ammoun[80], and I should think this was the reason why the above people named themselves Ammonians. From this however it is, that the Thebans esteem the ram as sacred, and, except on the annual festival of Jupiter, never put one to death. Upon this solemnity they kill a ram, and placing its skin on the image of the god, they introduce before it a figure of Hercules; the assembly afterwards beat the ram, and conclude

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80 *Call Jupiter, Ammoun.*]—Plutarch says, that of all the Ægyptian names which seemed to have any correspondence with the Zeus of Greece, Amoun or Ammon was the most peculiar and adequate: he speaks of many people who were of this opinion.—*Bryant.*

The following line occurs in the Scholiast to Pindar, Pyth. Ode 4th, v. 28.

Ζευς Λιβυης Αμμων κερατηφορε κεκλυτε μαντι.

Jupiter was almost as much in fashion amongst the old worshippers of images, as the Virgin amongst the modern: he had temples and different characters almost every where. At Carthage he was called Ammon; in Ægypt, Seraphis; at Athens, the great Jupiter was the Olympian Jupiter; and at Rome, the greatest Jupiter was the Capitoline.—*Spence, Polymetis.*—*T.*

the ceremony, by enclosing the body in a sacred chest.

XLIII. This Hercules*, as I have been informed, is one of the twelve great gods; but of the Grecian Hercules, I could in no part of Ægypt procure any knowledge: that this name was never borrowed by Ægypt from Greece, but certainly communicated by the Ægyptians to the Greeks, and to those in particular who assign it to the son of Amphitryon, is among other arguments sufficiently evident from this, that both the reputed parents of this Hercules, Amphitryon and Alcmena, were of Ægyptian origin. The Ægyptians also disclaim all knowledge both of Neptune and the Dioscuri†, neither of whom

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* Herodotus speaks of two of this name, the Olympian and Grecian Hercules. Diodorus makes mention of the Cretan, Ægyptian, and Theban Hercules; Arrian and Eusebius talk of the Grecian, Ægyptian, and Tyrian Hercules. It was the custom among the ancients to give the name of Hercules to every man distinguished by his strength and valour. We have this expression in Tacitus: Quicquid ubique magnificum est in claritatem Herculis referre consensimus. It may be remarked that the exploits of Theseus and Hercules were often confounded. They were near relations. See the remarks of Tollius on Palæphatus de Incredibilibus.

† Herodotus insists that the names of the Dioscuri were unknown to the Ægyptians; but since it is positively asserted in the Paranas that they were venerated on the banks of the

are admitted among the number of their gods: If they had ever borrowed the name of a deity from Greece, the remembrance of these, so far from being less, must have been stronger than of any other; for if they then made voyages, and if as I have great reason to believe, there were at that time Greek sailors, they would rather have been acquainted with the names of the other deities, than with that of Hercules. Hercules is certainly one of the most ancient deities of Ægypt[81]; and as they themselves affirm, is one of the twelve, who were produced from the eight gods, seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

XLIV. From my great desire to obtain information on this subject, I made a voyage to

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Nile, they must have been revered I presume in Ægypt under other names. Indeed Harpocrates and Halitomerion, the twin sons of Osiris and Isis, greatly resemble the Dioscuri of the Grecian mythologists.—*Wilford.*

[81] *Deities of Ægypt.*]—The remark, that the Ægyptian is a very distinct personage from the Grecian Hercules, is not peculiar to Herodotus; it is affirmed by all the authors who have had occasion to speak on the subject; Cicero gives him the Nile as his father: Nilo genitus.—*Larcher.*

According to Cicero, the Ægyptian Hercules was not the most ancient: he calls him the second Hercules. The Hercules, son of Amphitryon and Alcmena, was the sixth; this last, however, was the one most known, who is represented in almost all our ancient monuments, and who was worshipped by the Greeks and Romans.—*T.*

Tyre, in Phœnicia, where is a temple of Hercules held in great veneration. Among the various offerings which enriched and adorned it, I saw two pillars; the one was of the purest gold, the other of emerald[82], which in the night diffused an extraordinary splendour. I enquired of the priests how long this temple had been erected, but I found that they also differed in their relation from the Greeks. This temple, as they affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of two thousand three hundred years. I saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to the Thasian Hercules. At Thasus*, which I visited, I found a temple erected to this deity by the Phœnicians, who built

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[82] *Of emerald.*]—This pillar, of which Herodotus here speaks, could not, says Mr. Larcher, have been a true emerald, it was probably a pseudosmaragdus. The learned Frenchman agrees in opinion with the authors of the Universal History, that it was of coloured glass illuminated by lamps placed within.

Whether at so early a period they had knowledge of glass, may be disputed; but it is well known, that before the discovery of glass, or the application of it for windows, the rich used transparent stones for this purpose, which will solve the difficulty quite as well.

It may be added that we have specimens of Roman glass, of very great antiquity, preserved as well in other places as in the British Museum.—*T.*

* *Thasus.*]—Thasus is an island on the coast of Thrace, and said to have contained rich mines of gold and silver, and to have produced excellent wine. It received its name from Thasus, a son of Neptune. Its modern name is Thaso.

Thasus while they were engaged in search of Europa; an event which happened five generations before Hercules, the son of Amphitryon was known in Greece. From all these circumstances I was convinced that Hercules must be a very ancient deity. Such therefore of the Greeks as have erected two temples to the deity of this name, have, in my opinion, acted very wisely: to the Olympian Hercules they offer sacrifice as to an immortal being; to the other they pay the rites of an hero.

XLV. Among the many preposterous fables current in Greece, the one concerning Hercules is not the least ridiculous. He arrived, they say, in Ægypt, where the inhabitants bound him with the sacred fillet, and the usual ornaments of a victim[83], and made preparations to sacrifice him to Jupiter. For a while he restrained himself,

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[83] *Of a victim.*]—The gradations by which mankind were led from offering the produce of the earth to the gods, to sacrifice animals, are related by Porphyry, in his second book, de Abstinentiâ. He relates the following story on this subject: "so abhorrent," says he, "were the antient Athenians from the destroying of any kind of animals, that a woman, named Clymene, was deemed guilty of a very criminal act, from her having without design killed a hog. Her husband, from the supposition that she had committed an impiety, went to consult the oracle on the occasion. But as the deity did not consider it in a very heinous light, men were afterwards induced to make light of it also." *See Porphyr.* lib. ii. chap. 9.—*T.*

but upon his being conducted with the usual solemnities to the altar, he exerted his strength, and put all his opponents to death. This story of the Greeks demonstrates the extremest ignorance of Ægyptian manners; for how can it be reasonable to suppose, that a people will offer human beings in sacrifice, who will not for this purpose destroy even animals, except swine, bulls, male calves without blemish, and geese? Or how could Hercules, an individual, and as they themselves affirm, a mortal, be able to destroy many thousands of men?—I hope, however, that what I have introduced on this subject, will give no offence either to gods or heroes.

XLVI. The Mendesians of whom I have before spoken, refuse to sacrifice goats of either sex, out of reverence to Pan, whom their traditions assert to be one of the eight deities, whose existence preceded that of the twelve. Like the Greeks, they always represent Pan in his images, with the countenance of the she-goat[84] and the legs of the male; not that they believe this has any resemblance to his person, or that he in any re-

[84] *Countenance of the she-goat, &c.*]—Montfaucon observes, that what Herodotus says in this place of the Ægyptian manner of representing Pan, does not agree with the statues and images of Pan which have come down to us. Both the Greeks and Romans, if we may credit their monuments, which are very numerous, pictured Pan with a man's face, and with the horns, ears, and feet of a she or he-goat.—*T.*

spect differs from the rest of the deities: the real motive which they assign for this custom I do not choose to relate. The veneration of the Mendesians for these animals, and for the males in particular[85], is equally great and universal: this is also extended to goat-herds. There is one he-goat more particularly honoured than the rest, whose death is seriously lamented by the whole district of the Mendesians. In the Ægyptian language the word Mendes is used in common for Pan and for a goat. It happened in this country, within my remembrance, and was indeed universally notorious, that a goat had indecent and public communication with a woman.

XLVII. The Ægyptians regard the hog as an unclean animal[86], and if they casually touch one

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85 *Males in particular.*]—The Ægyptians venerated the he-goat as a deity, for the same reason that the Greeks do Priapus. This animal has a strong propensity to venery, and the member which is the instrument of generation they esteem honourable, because from it, animals derive their existence.—*Diodorus Sic.* lib. i. 98.

86 *Unclean animal.*]—The abhorrence of the Jews to the flesh of swine is generally supposed to have been imitated from the Ægyptians; they differed in this, the Jews would never eat it, the Ægyptians occasionally did. The motives assigned by Plutarch for the prejudice of both these nations in this particular instance, is curious enough: "The milk of the sow," says he, "occasioned leprosies, which was the reason why the Ægyptians entertained so great an aversion for this animal."

they immediately plunge themselves, clothes and all, into the water. This prejudice operates to the exclusion of all swine-herds, although natives of Ægypt, from the temples: with people of this description, a connection by marriage is studiously avoided, and they are reduced to the necessity of intermarrying among those of their own profession. The only deities to whom the Ægyptians offer swine, are Bacchus and Luna; to these they sacrifice them when the moon is at the full, after which they eat the flesh. Why they offer swine at this particular time, and at no other, the Ægyptians have a tradition among themselves, which delicacy forbids me to explain. The following is the mode in which they sacrifice this animal to Luna: as soon as it is killed, they cut off the extremity of the tail, which, with the spleen and the fat, they enclose in the cawl, and burn; upon the remainder, which at any other time they would disdain, they feast at the full moon, when the sacrifice is performed. They who are poor make figures of swine with meal, which having first baked, they offer on the altar.

The same author in another place explains in this manner the dislike of the Jews to swine. The religion, the ceremonies, and feasts of the Jews, were, as he pretends, the same as those practised in Greece with respect to Bacchus. Bacchus and Adonis are the same divinities; and the Jews abstain from swine's flesh, because Adonis was slain by a boar.

It is no less worth remarking, that Plutarch explains the derivation of Levites from Lysios, Λυσιος, a name of Bacchus.—*T.*

XLVIII. On the day of the feast of Bacchus, at the hour of supper, every person, before the door of his house, offers a hog in sacrifice. The swine-herd of whom they purchased it, is afterwards at liberty to take it away. Except this sacrifice of the swine, the Ægyptians celebrate the feast of Bacchus * in the same manner as the Greeks. Instead of the phalli[87], they have con-

* Bacchus and Osiris were the same, or in other words the Bacchus of the Greeks was the Osiris of the Ægyptians.—What Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius relate of the origin of this mysterious and abominable custom, cannot be communicated in terms of delicacy. Plutarch however assigns a reason very different for the introduction of these phalli, from that which is represented by the above writers. See his tract on Isis and Osiris.

" Isis having collected all the limbs of Osiris, could not find the distinguishing member of his sex. It had been thrown into the Nile, and the lepidotus, the phagrus and the oxyrinchus devoured it, for which reason the Ægyptians held these fish in great abomination. They consecrated the phallus as a representative of this, and the Ægyptians to this day hold a festival in its honour."

Gesner calls this fish pagrus. Ælian relates that it precedes and indicates the approaching inundation of the Nile.

Oxyrinchus seems to be a term given to any fish with a sharp snout. From the anecdote quoted from Plutarch, we may conclude them both to be carnivorous.

87 *Phalli.*]—Macrobius explains the consecration of the phallus into an emblem of the power of generation, whose prolific virtue is thereby invoked to impregnate the universe; for which reason that ceremony is for the most part performed in the spring, when the whole world receives a kind of regeneration from the gods. Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. i. 7. —See also on this subject Lucian de Dea Syria; Apuleius;

trived certain figures of about a cubit in length; the private members of which are made to move. These the women carry about the streets and villages, and the member which distinguishes the sex being almost as large as the rest of the body, with these, and preceded by a piper, they sing in a long procession, the praises of Bacchus. Why this member is so disproportionably large, and why they give a motion to it alone, they assign a sacred and mysterious reason.

XLIX. I am of opinion, that Melampus[88], son of Amytheon, was acquainted with this ceremony. Melampus first taught the Greeks the name and the sacrifice of Bacchus, and introduced the procession of the phalli[89]; the mys-

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Letters on Mythology. See also *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, vol. iii. 138.—*T.*

Mention is made in Athenæus of a phallus, carried in a Bacchanal procession, of gold, and one hundred and twenty cubits long. It was moreover adorned with garlands, which were twined round it to its vertex, where was a golden star six cubits in circumference.—See *Athenæus*, book v. chap. 5.

88 *Melampus.*]—So called because, being exposed when a child by his mother Rhodope, his whole person was covered, excepting his feet; these the rays of the sun turned black. He was a famous soothsayer: he was also, according to Pausanias, a physician, and had a temple and statues, and solemn games instituted in his honour.—*T.*

89 *Of the phalli.*]—In what manner these were carried in processions, may be seen in the Acharnenses of Aristophanes.

Ὁ Ξανθιας τον φαλλον ορθον στησατω.

See also the Scholiast on this passage.—*T.*

Grandpre,

terious purport of which he did not sufficiently explain; but since his time it has received from different sages sufficient illustration. It is unquestionable, that the use of the phalli in the sacrifice of Bacchus, with the other ceremonies which the Greeks now know and practise, were first taught them by Melampus. I therefore, without hesitation, pronounce him to have been a man of wisdom, and of skill in the art of divination. Instructed by the Ægyptians [90] in various ceremonies, and particularly in those which relate to Bacchus, with some few trifling changes, he brought them into Greece. I can by no means impute to accident, the resemblance which exists in the rites of Bacchus in Ægypt, and in

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Grandpre, in his Voyage in the Indian Ocean, relates, that in passing opposite to the coast of Travancore, he sent his boat on shore for information. They returned and brought with them an idol taken out of a niche in a bank. This the sailors made use of as a tiller to the rudder: on examination it proved to be a phallus. The boat's crew steered with this phallus, the size of which may be conjectured from this circumstance.

[90] *Instructed by the Ægyptians.*]—As Ægypt was then famous for the sciences and arts, the Greeks, who were beginning to emerge from barbarism, travelled thither to obtain knowledge, which they might afterwards communicate to their countrymen. With this view the following illustrious characters visited this country: "Orpheus, Musæus, Melampus, Dædalus, Homer, Lycurgus the Spartan, Solon of Athens, Plato the philosopher, Pythagoras of Samos, Eudoxus, Democritus of Abdera, Œnopis of Chios, &c. &c.—*Larcher.*

Greece; in this case they would not have differed so essentially from the Grecian manners, and they might have been traced to more remote antiquity: neither will I affirm that these, or that any other religious ceremonies, were borrowed of Greece[91] by the Ægyptians; I rather think that Melampus learned all these particulars which relate to the worship of Bacchus, from Cadmus, and his Tyrian companions, when they came from Phœnicia to what is now called Bœotia[92].

L. Ægypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods; that they are of barbarian origin, I am convinced by my different researches. The names of Neptune and the Dioscuri I mentioned before; with these, if we except Juno[93], Vesta, Themis, the Graces,

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91 *Borrowed of Greece.*]—See Bryant's Mythology, vol. ii. 483. Diodorus Sic. vol. i. 62, 63. Wesseling's edition.—*T.*

The ceremonies of Bacchus and Ceres resembling those of Osiris and Isis, were introduced among the Greeks by Orpheus. In Ægypt it was that Pythagoras learned the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, Thales got his mathematical science, Dædalus his knowledge of architecture, sculpture, and other arts. See Shaw's Travels, folio edit. p. 390.

92 *Bœotia.*]—This country was so called from Bœotus, son of Itonus, and the nymph Menalippe, and grandson of Amphictyon. See Diodorus Sic. lib. iv. 67; and also Thucydides, lib. i. p. 11.

93 *Juno.*]—We learn from Porphyry, that to the Ægyptian Juno, on a certain festival, three men were sacrificed, who were first of all examined like so many calves destined for

and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar in Ægypt. In this instance I do but repeat the opinions of the Ægyptians. Those names of which they disclaim any knowledge, are all, except Neptune, of Pelasgian derivation: for their acquaintance with this deity, they are indebted to Libya, where indeed he was first of all known, and has always been greatly honoured. The Ægyptians do not pay any religious ceremonies to heroes.

LI. With the above, the Greeks have derived many other circumstances of religious worship from Ægypt, which I shall hereafter relate; they did not however learn from hence, but from the Pelasgi, to construct the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus, which custom was first introduced by the Athenians, and communicated from them to others. At that period the Athenians were ranked among the nations of Greece, and had the Pelasgians for their neighbours; from which incident, this people also began to be esteemed as Greeks. Of the truth of this, whoever has been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries[94], which the Samothracians use, and which

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the altar. Amasis abolished these, substituting in their room three figures in wax. Porphyr. de Abstinentiâ, lib. ii. c. 55.

94 *Cabirian mysteries.*]—The Cabiri, says Montfaucon, were a sort of deities about whom the ancients differ much. The Cabiri, the Curetæ, the Corybantes, the Idean Dactyli, and sometimes the Telchinii, were taken for the same: they were

they learned of the Pelasgi, will be necessarily convinced; for the Pelasgians before they lived

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sometimes taken for the Dioscuri. With regard to their functions, and the places in which they were exercised, opinions equally various are held: some call them the sons of Vulcan, others of Jupiter.—See *Montfaucon.*

" They," says Mr. Larcher, principally from the Scholiast to the Irene of Aristophanes, " who had been admitted to these mysteries were highly esteemed, as they were supposed to have nothing to apprehend from tempests." " They," observes Plutarch, " who had learned their names, availed themselves of them as a kind of amulet to avert calamity, pronouncing them slowly."

These names were, according to the Scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. Ceres, Proserpine, and Pluto, to which others add Mercury.

Who these Cabirim might be, has been a matter of unsuccessful inquiry to many learned men. The utmost that is known with certainty is, that they were originally three, and were called, by way of eminence, The Great, or Mighty Ones, for that is the import of the Hebrew name. Of the like import is the Latin appellation, Penates: Dii per quos *penitus*, spiramus, &c. Thus the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the triad of the Roman capitol, is traced to that of *The Three Mighty Ones* in Samothrace, which was established in that island, at what precise time it is impossible to determine; but earlier, if Eusebius may be credited, than the days of Abraham.—*Bishop Horsley's Charge to the Clergy, &c.—T.*

Whilst the second edition (1806) was proceeding at the press, an elaborate work on the subject of the Cabiri appeared from the pen of Mr. Faber. From a rapid view he seems to have got together, from various authors, a great collection of facts on this intricate subject. I must be contented, therefore, at present, with referring the reader generally to this performance.

near the Athenians, formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. By them the Athenians were first of all instructed to make the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus. For this the Pelasgians have a sacred tradition, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries.

LII. The Pelasgians, as I was informed at Dodona, formerly offered all things indiscriminately to the gods. They distinguished them by no name or surname, for they were hitherto unacquainted with either; but they called them gods, which by its etymology means disposers, from observing the orderly disposition and distribution of the various parts of the universe. They learned, but not till a late period, the names of the divinities from the Ægyptians, and Bacchus was the last whom they knew. Upon this subject they afterwards consulted the oracle of Dodona[95], by far the most ancient oracle of Greece, and at the period of which we speak, the only one. They desired to know whether they might with propriety adopt the names which they had learned of the barbarians, and were answered that they might; they have accordingly used them ever since in their rites of sacrifice, and from the Pelasgi, they were communicated to the Greeks.

[95] *Oracle of Dodona.*]—See on this subject Bryant's Mythology, vol. ii. 286.

LIII. Of the origin of each deity, whether they have all of them always existed, as also of their form, their knowledge is very recent indeed. The invention of the Grecian theogony[96], the names, the honours, the forms, and the functions of the deities may with propriety be ascribed to

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[96] *Grecian theogony.*]—To suppose Homer to have been the author of the theology and mythology contained in his poems, would be as unreasonable as to imagine that he first taught the Greeks to read and write. We find that, in the following ages, when wise men began to reason more upon these subjects, they censured Homer's theology, as highly injurious to the gods, if it were understood in the literal sense. But when Homer wrote, he had sufficient excuse and authority for the fables which he delivered: and he introduced into his poems, by way of machinery, and with some decorations, theological legends, contrived in more rude and ignorant times, and sanctified by hoary age and venerable tradition. Tradition had preserved some memory of the things which the gods had done and had suffered when they were men.—*Jortin's Dissertation*, 207.

This evidence of Herodotus must be esteemed early, and his judgment valid. What can afford us a more sad account of the doubt and darkness in which mankind was enveloped, than these words of the historian? How plainly does he shew the necessity of divine interposition, and of revelation in consequence of it!—*Bryant's Mythology*, i. 307.

Hesiode a laissé un nom célèbre et des ouvrages estimés; comme on l'a supposé contemporain d'Homere, quelques-uns ont pensé qu'il étoit son rival, mais Homere ne pouvoit avoir de rivaux.

La théogonie d'Hesiode, comme celle de plusieurs anciens écrivains de la Grèce, n'est qu'un tissu d'idées absurdes, ou d'allégories impénétrables.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, iii. 315.

Hesiod* and to Homer[97], who I believe lived four hundred years, and not more, before myself. If I may give my opinion, the poets who are reported to have been before these, were certainly after them. What I say of the names and origin of the gods, is on the authority of the priests of Dodona; of Hesiod and of Homer I speak my own sentiments.

LIV. Of the two oracles of Greece and Libya, the Ægyptians speak as follows: I was told by the ministers of the Theban Jupiter, that the Phœnicians had violently carried off from Thebes two priestesses, one of whom had been sold into Libya, the other into Greece: they added, that the commencement of the above oracles must be assigned to these two women. On my requesting to know their authority for these assertions,

* Writers are not agreed about the ages of Homer and Hesiod.—See Aulus Gellius, book iii. c. 11, and my note upon the subject. Cicero decidedly thought Homer the oldest. They certainly lived at no great distance from one another.

97 *Homer.*]—To me it seems certain that the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, was not written by our historian. This I think might very easily be proved, but it would require a dissertation, and much exceed the limits of a note.—*Larcher.*

Nevertheless the learned Frenchman has translated this life of Homer, and subjoined it to this edition; because he says it is evidently the work of an ancient writer. It has never before appeared in any modern language, which may probably be an inducement with me at some future period of leisure to follow Larcher's example.

they answered, that after a long and ineffectual search after these priestesses, they had finally learned what they had told me.

LV. I have related the intelligence which I gained from the priests at Thebes: the priestesses of Dodona[93] assert, that two black pigeons flew from Thebes in Ægypt, one of which settled in Libya, the other among themselves; which latter, resting on the branch of a beech-tree, declared with a human voice that here by divine appointment was to be an oracle of Jove. The inhabitants, fully impressed that this was a divine communication, instantly complied with the injunction. The dove which flew to Libya in like manner commanded the people to fix there an oracle of Ammon, which also is an oracle of Jupiter. Such was the information I received from the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was called Promenea, the second Timarete, the youngest Nicandre; the other ministers em-

93 *Priestesses of Dodona.*]—There is an account given by Palæphatus, of one Metra, or Meestra, who could change herself into various forms. The story at bottom is very plain: Ægypt was frequently called Mestra and Mestraia, and by the person here called Mestra we are certainly to understand a woman of the country. She was sometimes simply mentioned as a *cahen* or priestess, which the Greeks have rendered Κυνα, a dog. Women in this sacred character attended at the shrine of Apis and Mnenis, and of the sacred heifer at Onuphis. Some of them in different countries were styled Cygneans, and also Peleiadæ, of whom the principal were the women at Dodona.—*Bryant.*

ployed in the service of the temple agreed with these in every particular.

LVI. My opinion of the matter is this: If the Phœnicians did in reality carry away these two priestesses, and sell one to Libya, the other to Greece, this latter must have been carried to the Thesproti, which country, though part of what is now termed Greece, was formerly called Pelasgia[99]. That, although in a state of servitude, she erected, under the shade of a beech-tree, a sacred edifice to Jupiter, which she might very naturally be prompted to do, from the remembrance of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, whence she was taken. Thus she instituted the oracle, and having learned the Greek language, might probably relate that by the same Phœnicians her sister was sold for a slave to Libya.

LVII. The name of doves was probably given them because, being strangers, the sound of their voices might, to the people of Dodona, seem to resemble the tone of those birds. When the woman, having learned the language, delivered her thoughts in words which were generally understood, the dove might be said to have spoken with a human voice. Before she had thus ac-

99 *Pelasgia.*]—The people who then composed the body of the Hellenistic nation in those ancient times, gave their names to the countries which they occupied. The Pelasgians were widely dispersed.—*Larcher.*

complished herself, her voice might appear like that of a dove. It certainly cannot be supposed that a dove should speak with a human voice; and the circumstance of her being black, explains to us her Ægyptian origin.

LVIII. The two oracles of Ægyptian Thebes and of Dodona, have an entire resemblance to each other. The art of divination, as now practised in our temples, is thus derived from Ægypt; at least the Ægyptians were the first who introduced the sacred festivals, processions, and supplications, and from them the Greeks were instructed. It is to me a sufficient testimony of this, that these religious ceremonies are in Greece but of modern date, whereas in Ægypt they have been in use from the remotest antiquity.

LIX. In the course of the year, the Ægyptians celebrate various public festivals[100]; but the festival in honour of Diana, at the city Bubastis*, is the first in dignity and importance. The second is held in honour of Isis, at the city Busiris,

[100] *Festivals.*]—Savary, with other modern travellers, gives us an account of the annual fairs of Ægypt. These are to be considered as the remains of the ancient pilgrimages of the Ægyptians to Canopus, Sais, and Bubastis.

* The Pibeseth of Scripture (see Ezekiel, c. 30, v. 17,) is by many taken for the Bubastis of the Greeks. The Septuagint call it Boubastos, and St. Jerome Pubastos. Here was a temple of Diana, who is also named Bubastis; and at this place also cats were esteemed sacred, embalmed, and honourably interred.

which is situated in the middle of the Delta, and contains the largest temple of that goddess. Isis is called in the Greek tongue, Demeter or Ceres. The solemnities of Minerva, observed at Sais[101], are the third in consequence; the fourth are at Heliopolis, and sacred to the sun; the fifth are those of Latona, at Butos; the next those of Mars, solemnized at Papremis.

LX. They who meet to celebrate the festival at Bubastis[102] embark in vessels, a great number of men and women promiscuously mixed. During the passage some of the women[103] strike their

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[101] *Sais.*]—This place is by some supposed to be the Sin of the Scriptures; but it is obviously recognized in Sall. See Major Rennell, pp. 529 and 531. There are still considerable remains on this spot.

[102] *Bubastis.*]—Savary has translated this passage in his Letters on Ægypt. From a comparison of his version with mine, it is easy to observe he has given to Herodotus what the historian never imagined.—*Larcher.*

From the great number of festivals observed in ancient Ægypt, it seems that the inhabitants must have been a gay and cheerful people. Yet Winkelman observes, that they were of a grave and dull character. Modern narratives, says Larcher, justify the picture drawn by Herodotus.

[103] *The women.*]—These, no doubt, are the Almai, which were not then more decent than now.

The Ægyptians, since Herodotus, have been governed by various nations, and at length are sunk deep in ignorance and slavery, but their true character has undergone no change. The frantic ceremonies the pagan religion authorized are now renewed around the sepulchres of Santons, before the churches of the Copts, and in the fairs I mentioned.—*Savary.*

tabors, accompanied by the men playing on flutes. The rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought to shore: of the women, some continue their instrumental music, others call aloud to the females of the place, provoke them by injurious language, dance about, and indecently throw aside their garments. This they do at every place near which they pass. On their arrival at Bubastis, the feast commences, by the sacrifice of many victims, and upon this occasion a greater quantity of wine[104] is consumed than in all the rest of the year. The natives report, that at this solemnity seven hundred thousand[105] men and women assemble, not to mention children.

LXI. I have before related in what manner the rites of Isis are celebrated at Busiris. After the ceremonies of sacrifice the whole assembly, to the amount of many thousands, flagellate[106] them-

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104 *Quantity of wine.*]—In the Greek it is wine of the vine, to distinguish it from beer, which he calls barley-wine.—*Larcher.*

Whoever has not seen a witty and humourous dissertation on οινος κριθινος, or barley-wine, published at Oxford in 1750, may promise himself much entertainment from its perusal.—*T.*

105 *Seven hundred thousand.*]—For seven hundred thousand, some read only seventy thousand.—*T.*

106 *Flagellate themselves.*]—The manner in which Voltaire has translated this passage, is too whimsical to be omitted—"On frappe, dans la ville de Busiris, dit Herodote, les

selves, but in whose honour they do this I am not at liberty to disclose. The Carians of Ægypt treat themselves at this solemnity with still more severity[107]: for they cut themselves in the face with swords, and thus distinguish themselves from the Ægyptian natives.

LXII. At the sacrifice solemnized at Sais, the assembly is held by night; they suspend before their houses in the open air, lamps which are filled with oil mixed with salt[108]; a wick floats at the top, which will burn all night: the feast itself is called the feast of lamps[109]. Such of the Ægyptians

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hommes et les femmes après le sacrifice, mais de dire où on les frappe, c'est ce qui ne m'est pas permis.—*Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.*

One would charitably suppose that Voltaire translated from the received reading τον δε τυπτονται. Littlebury translates it with what instrument.

107 Xenophanes, the physician, seeing the Ægyptians lament and beat themselves at their festivals, says to them, sensibly enough, "If your gods be gods in reality, cease to lament them; but if they are mortals, forbear to sacrifice to them."—*Plutarch.*

108 *Salt.*]—Salt was constantly used at all entertainments, both of the gods and men, whence a particular sanctity was believed to be lodged in it: it is hence called θειος αλς, divine salt, by Homer.—*Potter.*

109 *Feast of lamps.*]—This feast, which much resembles the feast of lamps observed from time immemorial in China, seems to confirm the opinion of M. de Guignes, who was the first to intimate that China was a colony from Ægypt. —*Larcher.*

as do not attend the ceremony think themselves obliged to observe the evening of the festival, and in like manner burn lamps before their houses: thus on this night, not Sais only, but all Ægypt is illuminated. A religious motive is assigned for the festival itself, and for the illuminations by which it is distinguished.

LXIII. At Heliopolis and Butos[110], sacrifices alone are offered, but at Papremis, as at other places, in addition to the offering of victims, other religious ceremonies are observed. At the close of the day, a small number of priests crowd round the statue of Mars; a greater number, armed with clubs, place themselves at the entrance of the temple; opposite to these, may be seen more than a thousand men tumultuously assembled, with clubs also in their hands, to perform their religious vows. The day before the festival they remove the statue of the god, which is kept in a small case decorated with gold, to a different apartment. The priests attendant upon the statue

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In Ægypt there is no rejoicing, no festival of any consideration at all, unaccompanied with illumination. For this purpose they make use of earthen lamps, which they put into very deep vessels of glass, in such a manner as that the glass is two thirds, or at least one half of its height, higher than the lamp, in order to preserve the light, and prevent its extinction by the wind. The Ægyptians have carried this art to the highest perfection, &c.—*Maillet.*

110 *Butos.*]—This is indifferently written Butos, Butis, and Buto.—*T.*

place it, together with its case, on a four-wheeled carriage*, and begin to draw it along. Those at the entrance of the temple endeavour to prevent its admission: but the votaries above mentioned come to the succour of the god, and a combat ensues between the two parties, in which many heads are broken, and I should suppose many lives lost, though this the Ægyptians positively deny.

LXIV. The motive for this ceremony is thus explained by the natives of the country:—This temple, they say, was the residence of the mother

* Very much does this resemble what is now observed in Hindostan. See an engraving and description of this car and ceremony in Sonnerat. There is also a model of such a car preserved in the British Museum. I subjoin Sonnerat's description:

Ce chariot est une machine immense sculptée, sur laquelle les guerres, la vie, et les métamorphoses du dieu, sont représentées: il est orné de banderoles et de fleurs. Des lions de carton, placés aux quatre coins, supportent tous ces ornemens: le devant est occupé par des chevaux de la même matière, et l'idole est au milieu sur un piedestal: quantité des Brames l'éventent pour empêcher les mouches de venir s'y reposer. Les Bayaderes et les musiciens sont assis à l'entour, et font retentir l'air du son bruyant de leurs instrumens: on a vu des pères et des mères de famille tenant leurs enfans dans leurs bras, se jetter au travers pour se faire écraser et mourir, dans l'espoir que la divinité les feroit jouir d'un bonheur éternel dans l'autre vie. Ce spectacle n'arrêtoit point la marche du dieu, parce que les augures n'auroient point été favorable. Le cortège passoit sur le corps de ces malheureux sans aucune émotion et la machine achevoit de les broyer.—p. 227.

of Mars: the god himself, who had been brought up at a distance from his parent, on his arrival at man's estate, came hither to visit his mother. The attendants, who had never seen him before, not only refused to admit him, but roughly drove him from the place. Obtaining proper assistance, he returned, severely chastised those who had opposed him, and obtained admission to his mother. From this circumstance the above mode of fighting was ever after practised on the festival of Mars: and these people were also the first who made it a point of religion not to communicate carnally with a woman[111] in a temple, nor enter any consecrated place after the venereal act, without having first washed. Except the Ægyptians and the Greeks, all other nations without scruple

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111 *Communicate carnally with a woman.*]—Mention is made of the Mossyri, called by Apollonius Rhodius, Mossyræci, who copulated in the public streets. See Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, and others.

> Next by the sacred hill their oars impel
> Firm Argo, where the Mossyræcians dwell,
> Of manners strange, for they with care conceal
> Those deeds which others openly reveal,
> And actions that in secret should be done
> Perform in public and before the sun;
> For, like the monsters of the bristly drove,
> In public they perform the feats of love.
>
> *Fawkes Apollonius Rhod.*

Quid ego de Cynicis loquar, quibus in propatulo coire cum conjugibus mos fuit. Lactantius.—See also what Diogenes Laertius says of Crates and Hipparchia. See Bayle on the Adamites and Picards, and also "A Dialogue concerning Decency."—*T.* See also Herodotus, book i.

connect themselves with women in their temples, nor think it necessary to wash themselves after such connection, previous to their paying their devotions. In this instance they rank man indiscriminately with other animals; for observing that birds as well as beasts copulate in shrines and temples, they conclude that it cannot be offensive to the deity. Such a mode of reasoning does not by any means obtain my approbation.

LXV. The superstition of the Ægyptians is conspicuous in various instances, but in this more particularly: notwithstanding the vicinity of their country to Libya, the number of beasts is comparatively small, but all of them, both those which are wild and those which are domestic, are regarded as sacred. If I were to explain the reason of this prejudice, I should be led to the discussion of those sacred subjects, which I particularly wish to avoid [112], and which but from necessity, I should not have discussed so fully as I have. Their laws compel them to cherish animals; a certain number of men and women are appointed to this

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112 *Wish to avoid.*]—The ancients were remarkably scrupulous in every thing which regarded religion; but in the time of Diodorus Siculus strangers did not pay the same reverence to the religious rites of the Ægyptians. This historian was not afraid to acquaint us with the motives which induced the Ægyptians to pay divine honours to animals.—*Larcher.*

See Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. 21.

office, which is esteemed so honourable[113], that it descends in succession from father to son. In the presence of these animals, the inhabitants of the cities perform their vows. They address themselves as supplicants to the divinity, who is supposed to be represented by the animal in whose presence they are; they then cut off their children's hair, sometimes the whole of it, sometimes half, at other times only a third part; this they weigh in a balance against a piece of silver; as soon as the silver preponderates, they give it to the woman who keeps the beast, she in return feeds the beast with pieces of fish, which is their constant food. It is a capital offence designedly to kill any one of these[114] animals; to destroy

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113 *Esteemed so honourable.*]—So far from refusing this employ, or being ashamed publicly to exercise it, they make a vain display of it, as if they participated the greatest honours of the gods. When they travel through the cities, or the country, they make known, by certain marks which they exhibit, the particular animal of which they have the care. They who meet them, as they journey, respect and worship these.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

114 *To kill any one of these.*]—The cat was also held in the extremest veneration by the ancient Ægyptians; and Diodorus Siculus relates, that a Roman having by accident killed a cat, the common people instantly surrounded his house with every demonstration of fury. The king's guards were instantly dispatched to rescue him from their rage, but in vain; his authority and the Roman name were equally ineffectual.—In the most extreme necessities of famine, they rather chose to feed on human flesh than on these animals. —*T.*

one accidentally, is punished by a fine, determined by the priests: but whoever, however involuntarily, kills an ibis[115] or an hawk[116] cannot by any means escape death.

LXVI. The number of domestic animals in Ægypt is very great, and would be much greater if the increase of cats[117] were not thus prevented.

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115 *Ibis.*]—The Ægyptians thus venerated the ibis, because they were supposed to devour the serpents which bred in the ground after the ebbing of the Nile.—*T.*

116 *Hawk.*]—They have a kind of domestic large brown hawk, with a fine eye. One may see the pigeons and hawks standing close to one another. The Turks never kill them, and seem to have a sort of veneration for these birds and for cats, as well as their ancestors. The ancient Ægyptians in this animal worshipped the sun or Osiris, of which the brightness of its eyes was an emblem.—*Pococke.*

Osiris was worshipped at Philæ, under the figure of the Æthiopian hawk.—*T.*

117 *If the increase of cats, &c.*]—There occurs, I own, a difficulty in the Ægyptian system of theology. It is evident from their method of propagation, that a couple of cats in fifty years would stock a whole kingdom. If religious veneration were paid them, it would in twenty more not only be easier in Ægypt to find a god than a man, (which Petronius says was the case in some parts of Italy) but the gods must at last entirely starve the men, and leave themselves neither priests nor votaries remaining. It is probable, therefore, that this wise nation, the most celebrated in antiquity for prudence and sound policy, foreseeing such dangerous consequences, reserved all their worship for the full-grown divinities, and used the freedom to drown the holy spawn, or little sucking gods, without any scruple or remorse. And thus the practice of warping the tenets of religion, in order to serve

The female cats, when delivered of their young, carefully avoid the company of the males, who to obtain a second commerce with them, contrive and execute this stratagem: they steal the young from the mother, which they destroy, but do not eat. This animal, which is very fond of its young, from its desire to have more, again covets the company of the male. In every accident of fire, the cats seem to be actuated by some supernatural[118] impulse; for the Ægyptians surrounding the place which is burning, appear to be occupied with no thought but that of preserving their cats. These, however, by stealing between the legs of the spectators, or by leaping over their heads, endeavour to dart into the flames. This circumstance, whenever it happens, diffuses universal sorrow. In whatever family a cat by accident happens to die, every individual cuts off his eye-brows[120]; but on the death of a

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temporal interests, is not by any means to be regarded as an invention of these later ages.—*Hume.*

In this place Mr. Hume, like the rest of his brethren, overshoots his mark. It was not the Ægyptians, but the male cats, that put a stop to the increase of their kind.

118 *Supernatural.*]—It is astonishing that Herodotus should see this as a prodigy. The cat is a timid animal, fire makes it more so: the precautions taken to prevent its perishing frighten it still more, and deprive it of its sagacity.—*Larcher.*

120 *Cuts off his eye-brows.*]—The custom of cutting off the hair in mourning appears to have obtained in the East in the prophetic times.

Among

dog[121] they shave their heads and every part of their bodies.

Among the ancient Greeks it was sometimes laid upon the dead body, sometimes cast into the funeral pile, and sometimes placed upon the grave.

Women in the deep mourning of captivity, shaved off their hair. "Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and she shall shave her head and pare her nails." *Deuteronomy*, xxi. 12.

Maillet says, that in the East the women that attend a corpse to the grave generally have their hair hanging loose about their ears.

[121] *Death of a dog.*]—In this respect Plutarch differs from Herodotus. He allows that these animals were at one time esteemed holy, but it was before the time of Cambyses. From the æra of his reign they were held in another light; for when this king killed the sacred Apis, the dogs fed so liberally upon his entrails, without making a proper distinction, that they lost all their sanctity. But they were certainly of old looked upon as sacred; and it was perhaps with a view to this, and to prevent the Israelites retaining any notion of this nature, that a dog was not suffered to come within the precincts of the temple of Jerusalem. In the Mosaic law, the price of a dog, and the hire of a harlot, are put upon the same level. See Deuteronomy, xxiii. 18. "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore nor the price of a dog into the house of the Lord thy God for any vow, for both these are an abomination to the Lord thy God."—*Bryant.*

It is because the dog was consecrated to Anubis, that this deity was represented with a dog's head. Virgil and Ovid call him Latrator Anubis; Propertius and Prudentius, Latrans Anubis.—*Larcher.*

At the present day dogs are considered in the East as defiling; they do not suffer them in their houses, and ever with care avoid touching them in the streets. By the ancient Jews, as remarked before, they were considered in a de-

LXVII. The cats, when dead, are carried to sacred buildings, and after being salted[122] are buried in the city Bubastis. Of the canine species, the females are buried in consecrated chests, wherever they may happen to die, which ceremony is also observed with respect to the ichneumons[123]. The shrew-mice and hawks are always

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grading light. "Am I a dog?" says the Philistine to David. "What is thy servant a dog?" says Hazael, &c. See Harmer, vol. i. p. 220. It may indeed be observed, that in most countries and languages the word dog is a term of contempt. "I took by the throat the uncircumcised dog."—*T.*

The following whimsical fragment from Anaxandrides, a Greek comic poet, which is preserved in Athenæus, seems to deserve a place here:

"How can I possibly fight or serve in the same ranks with you, as nothing can possibly be more unlike than our laws and customs. You worship an ox, I sacrifice it to the gods; you think an eel a very mighty divinity, we esteem it as one of the best dishes that come upon the table; you worship a dog, I flog the rascal, and particularly when I find him stealing my dinner."

[122] *After being salted.*]—Diodorus Siculus says the same thing, and he also describes the process used on the occasion.—*T.*

[123] *Ichneumon.*]—This animal is found both in Upper and Lower Ægypt. It creeps slowly along, as if ready to seize its prey; it feeds on plants, eggs, and fowls. In Upper Ægypt it searches for the eggs of the crocodile, which lie hid in the sand, and eats them, thereby preventing the increase of that animal. It may be easily tamed, and goes about the houses like a cat. It makes a growling noise, and barks when it is very angry. The French in Ægypt have called this le rat de

removed to Butos; the ibis to Hermopolis[124]; the bears, an animal rarely seen in Ægypt, and the wolves[125], which are not much bigger than foxes, are buried in whatever place they die.

Pharaoh. Alpinus and Bellonius, following this, have called it Mus Pharaonis. The resemblance it has to a mouse in colour and hair, might have induced people ignorant of natural history to call it a mouse; but why Pharaoh's mouse? The Ægyptians were in the time of Pharaoh too intelligent to call it a mouse: nor is it at this day called *phar* by the Arabs, which is the name for mouse; they call it *nems*. What is related concerning its entering the jaws of the crocodile is fabulous.—*Hasselquist.*

[124] *Hermopolis.*]—There were in Ægypt two places of this name, Wesseling supposes Herodotus to speak of that in the Thebaid.—*T.*

Our gallant countryman, Sir Robert Wilson, describes an immense deposit of these birds in the plain between the Pyramids of Sacarah and those of Giza, the site probably of the ancient Memphis. The mummy pits, as he calls them, extend several leagues. The bird pits he thus describes:

In the bird pits, millions of earthen pots lie in the recesses, in which the sacred birds of Ægypt, particularly the Ibis, are enclosed, and occasionally the bones of animals are found: these pots are closed by a strong cement, which no air can penetrate; when broken, there drops out what is apparently a lump of burnt cinders, which proves to be the cloth in which the bodies were preserved. In almost all, the string which bound them remains perfect, and their feathers are preserved with their very shades of colour.—p. 138.

[125] *Wolves.*]—Hasselquist did not meet with either of these animals in Ægypt.

Wolves were honoured in Ægypt, says Eusebius, probably from their resemblance to the dog. Some relate, that the Æthiopians having made an expedition against Ægypt, were put to flight by a vast number of wolves, which occasioned the place where the incident happened to be called Lycopolis.

LXVIII. I proceed now to describe the nature of the crocodile[126], which during the four

[126] *Of the crocodile.*]—The general nature and properties of the crocodile are sufficiently known. I shall therefore be contented with giving the reader, from different authors, such particulars of this extraordinary animal as are less notorious. The circumstance of their eating nothing during the four severe winter months seems to be untrue.

The excrements do not appear to pass through the anus, they pass through the gut into the ventricle, and are vomited up. Under the shoulder of the old crocodile is a folliculus containing a thick matter, which smells like musk, a perfume much esteemed in Ægypt. When the male copulates with the female, he turns her with his snout on her back.

The fat of the crocodile is used by the Ægyptians against the rheumatism. The gall is thought good for the eyes, and for barrenness in women. The eyes are an aphrodisiac, and as Hasselquist affirms, esteemed by the Arabs superior even to ambergris.

When the ancient prophets in the Old Testament speak of a dragon, a crocodile is generally to be understood. "Am I a sea or a jannin?" See Job, vii. 12; where, according to Harmer, a crocodile alone can be meant. The animal is of most extraordinary strength. "One of twelve feet," says Maillet, "after a long fast threw down with the stroke of his tail five or six men, and a bale of coffee." They sleep in the sun, but not soundly. They seldom descend below the Thebais, and never below Grand Cairo. Some have been seen fifty feet long. Herodotus says it has no tongue, but it has a fleshy substance like a tongue, which serves it to turn its meat: it is said to move only the upper jaw, and to lay fifty eggs. It is not a little remarkable, that the ancient name being champsa, the Ægyptians now call it timsah.—*T.*

The following, which is the latest account of this animal, is taken from Denon:

In my wanderings on the banks of the Nile, I have seen crocodiles of all sizes, from three to twenty-six or twenty-eight feet in length: many officers worthy of credit, assured

severer months of winter, eats nothing: it is a quadruped, but amphibious; it is also oviparous, and deposits its eggs in the sand; the greater part of the day it spends on shore, but all the night in the water, as being warmer than the external air[127], whose cold is increased by the dew. No animal that I have seen or known, from being at

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me that they met with one no less than forty feet long. They are by no means so ferocious as is pretended; their favourite resort are the low islands of the river, where they are seen basking in the sun, the most intense heat of which appears highly gratifying to them, by numbers at a time, asleep and motionless as so many logs of wood, surrounded by birds, who appear totally unmindful of them. What is the food of these large animals? Many stories are related of them, but we have not yet had an opportunity of verifying a single one. Daring even to imprudence, our soldiers set them at defiance; even I myself bathed daily in the Nile, for the tranquil nights that I thus obtained, rendered me regardless of dangers which we had not yet verified by a single fact. If the crocodiles had devoured a few of the carcases which there were left at their disposal, such a food it might be imagined would only excite their appetite, and engage them to pursue when alive, so favourite a prey, and yet we were never once attacked by them, nor did we ever meet a single crocodile at a distance from the water. Hence it appears probable, that they find in the Nile itself, a sufficient quantity of easily procurable food, which they digest slowly, being like the lizard and serpent, cold-blooded and of an inactive stomach.

In confirmation of Harmer's opinion, that the dragon of the Old Testament was the crocodile, see Mr. Hurdis.

Concerning the Hippopotamus, see Paterson's Voyage to the Cape. Pennant quotes Mr. Gordon to the same effect.

127 *Warmer than the external air.*]—Water exposed to violent heat during the day preserves its warmth in the night, and is then much less cold than the external air.—*Larcher.*

first so remarkably diminutive, grows to so vast a size. The eggs are not larger than those of geese: on leaving the shell the young is proportionably small, but when arrived at its full size it is sometimes more than seventeen cubits in length: it has eyes like a hog[128], teeth large and prominent, in proportion to the dimensions of its body; but, unlike all other animals, it has no tongue. It is farther and most singularly distinguished, by only moving its upper jaw. Its feet are armed with strong fangs; the skin is protected by hard scales regularly divided. In the open air its sight is remarkably acute, but it cannot see at all in the water: living in the water its throat is always full of leeches; beasts and birds universally avoid it, the trochilus alone excepted, which, from a sense of gratitude, it treats with kindness. When the crocodile leaves the water, it reclines itself on the sand, and generally

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[128] *Eyes like a hog.*]—The leviathan of Job is variously understood by critics for the whale and the crocodile. Both these animals are remarkable for the smallness of their eyes, in proportion to the bulk of their bodies: those of the crocodile are said to be extremely piercing out of the water; in which sense therefore the poet's expression, "its eyes are like the eye-lids of the morning," can only be applicable. Dr. Young, in his paraphrase on this part of Job, describing the crocodile as the animal intended in the original, has given the image an erroneous reference to the magnitude rather than the brightness of its eye.

Large is his front, and when his burnish'd eyes
Lift their broad lids, the morning seems to rise.

Dr. Aikin, Poetical Use of Nat. Hist.

towards the west, with its mouth open: the trochilus entering its throat destroys the leeches; in acknowledgment for which service, it never does the trochilus injury.

LXIX. This animal, by many of the Ægyptians, is esteemed sacred[129], by others it is treated as an enemy[130]. They who live near Thebes, and the lake Mœris, hold the crocodile in religious veneration: they select one, which they render tame and docile, suspending golden ornaments from its ears[131], and sometimes gems of

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129 *Esteemed sacred.*]—On this subject we have the following singular story in Maximus Tyrius. An Ægyptian woman brought up the young one of a crocodile. The Ægyptians esteemed her singularly fortunate, and revered her as the nurse of a deity. The woman had a son about the same age with the crocodile, and they grew up and played together. No harm ensued whilst the crocodile was gentle from being weak; but when it got its strength it devoured the child. The woman exulted in the death of her son, and considered his fate as blessed in the extreme, in thus becoming the victim of their domestic god.—*T.*

130 *Treated as an enemy.*]—These were the people of Tentyra in particular, now called Dandera; they were famous for their intrepidity as well as art in overcoming crocodiles. For a particular account of their manner of treating them, see Pliny, book viii. chap. 25.—*T.*

131 *Ornaments from its ears.*]—This seems to suppose, that the crocodile has ears externally, nevertheless those which the Sultan sent to Louis the Fourteenth, and which the academy of sciences dissected, had none. They found in them indeed apertures of the ears placed below the eyes, but concealed and covered with skin, which had the appearance of

value; the fore feet are secured by a chain. They feed it with the flesh of the sacred victims, and with other appointed food. While it lives they treat it with unceasing attention, and when it dies, it is first embalmed, and afterwards deposited in a sacred chest. They who live in or near Elephantine, so far from considering these beasts as sacred, make them an article of food: they call them not crocodiles, but champsæ[132]. The name of crocodiles was first imposed by the Ionians, from their resemblance to lizards so named by them, which are produced in the hedges*.

LXX. Among the various methods that are used to take the crocodile[133], I shall only relate

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two eye-lids entirely closed. When the animal was alive, and out of the water, these lids probably opened. However this may be, it was, as may be presumed, to these membranes that the ear-rings were fixed.—*Larcher.*

132 *Champsæ.*]—The crocodile had many names, such as carmin, souchus, campsa. This last signified an ark or receptacle.—*Bryant.*

* This is, in fact, the guana, an animal very well known in hot climates.

133 *To take the crocodile.*] The most common way of killing the crocodile is by shooting it. The ball must be directed towards the belly, where the skin is soft, and not armed with scales like the back. Yet they give an account of a method of catching them something like that which Herodotus relates. They make some animal cry at a distance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out they thrust a spear

one which most deserves attention: they fix a piece of swine's flesh on a hook*, and suffer it to float into the middle of the stream; on the banks they have a live hog, which they beat till it cries out. The crocodile hearing the noise makes towards it, and in the way encounters and devours the bait. They then draw it on shore, and the first thing they do is to fill its eyes with clay; it is thus easily manageable, which it otherwise would not be.

LXXI. The hippopotamus[134] is esteemed sacred in the district of Papremis, but in no other part

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into his body, to which a rope is tied: they then let him go into the water to spend himself; and afterwards drawing him out, run a pole into his mouth, and jumping on his back, tie his jaws together.—*Pococke.*

* A certain writer of the name of Caistrius affirms, that what Herodotus relates in this book of the phœnix, the hippopotamus, and of the taking of the crocodile, he has borrowed word for word from Hecatæus of Miletus, and that Pollin has written a whole book of the plagiarisms of Herodotus. But by whom, says Larcher, are these charges brought? by two obscure writers only, who sought to raise their own reputation by traducing so illustrious a character. Besides, if they had been true, Plutarch, who eagerly sought every opportunity of depressing Herodotus, would not have overlooked this. See Larcher's preface to his second edition.

[134] *The hippopotamus.*]—It is to be observed, that the hippopotamus and crocodile were symbols of the same purport: both related to the Deluge, and however the Greeks might sometimes represent them, they were both in different places

of Ægypt. I shall describe its nature and properties: it is a quadruped, its feet are cloven, and it has hoofs like an ox; the nose is short, but

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reverenced by the ancient Ægyptians.—*Bryant*, who refers his reader on this subject to the Isis and Osiris of Plutarch.

The hippopotamus is generally supposed to be the behemoth of Scripture. Maillet says his skin is two fingers thick; and that it is so much the more difficult to kill it as there is only a small place in its forehead where it is vulnerable. Hasselquist classes it not with the amphibia but quadrupeds. It is an inveterate enemy to the crocodile, and kills it whereever it meets it. It never appears below the cataracts. The hide is a load for a camel: Maillet speaks of one which would have been a heavy load for four camels. He does great injury to the Ægyptians, destroying in a very short time an entire field of corn or clover. Their manner of destroying it is too curious to be omitted: they place in his way a great quantity of peas; the beast filling himself with these, it occasions an intolerable thirst. Upon these he drinks large draughts of water, and the Ægyptians afterwards find him dead on the shore, blown up as if killed with the strongest poison. Pennant relates, in his Synopsis of Animals, other and more plausible means of taking this animal. Its voice is between the roaring of a bull and the braying of an elephant. It is at first interrupted with frequent short pauses, but may be heard at a great distance. The oftener he goes on shore, the better hopes have the Ægyptians of a sufficient increase of the Nile. His food, they say, can be almost distinguished in his excrements. Pococke calls it a fish, and says that he was able to obtain little information concerning it.

The above particulars are compiled chiefly from Hasselquist, Maillet, and Pennant.

It is Hasselquist who says that the hippopotamus is never seen below the cataracts, and that therefore the inhabitants of Upper Ægypt only can be acquainted with them. But

turned up, the teeth prominent; it resembles a horse in its mane, its tail, and its voice: it is of the size of a very large ox, and has a skin so remarkably thick, that when dried it is made into offensive weapons.

LXXII. The Nile also produces otters, which the Ægyptians venerate, as they also do the fish called lepidotus, and the eel[135]: these are sacred to the Nile, as among the birds is one called the chenalopex[136].

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how can this be? Upper Ægypt is the space between Siene and Cairo; beyond this is Abyssinia.

Since the first edition of this work, I have had the opportunity of perusing Sparman and Vaillant, both of whom make many interesting and detailed remarks on the hippopotamus; to which authors I must refer the reader for farther particulars concerning this animal.

[135] *The eel.*]—Antiphanes, and the Greek writers, who amused themselves with ridiculing the religious ceremonies of Ægypt, were doubtless ignorant of the motive which caused this particular fish to be proscribed. The flesh of the eel, and some other fish, thickened the blood, and by checking the perspiration excited all those maladies connected with the leprosy. The priests forbade the people to eat eels, and to render their prohibition more effectual, they pretended to regard this fish as sacred. M. Pauw pretends that the Greeks have been in an error in placing the eel amongst the sacred fish, but I have always to say to that learned man, where are your proofs?—*Larcher.*

[136] *Chenalopex.*]—This bird in figure greatly resembles the goose, but it has all the art and cunning of the fox.—*Larcher.*

LXXIII. They have also another sacred bird, which, except in a picture, I have never seen: it is called the phœnix[137]. It is very uncommon

[137] *Phœnix.*]—From what is related of this bird the Phœnicians gave the name of phœnix to the palm-tree, because when burnt to the ground it springs up again fairer and stronger than ever.

The ancient Christians also refer to the phœnix, as a type of the resurrection.

Dr. Middleton, in his Free Enquiry, has this remark:

St. Clement, of Rome, having alleged the ridiculous story of the phœnix, as a type and proof of the resurrection, all the later fathers take it from him of course, and refer us to the same bird, not only as really existing, but as created on purpose by God to refute the incredulity of the Gentiles on the subject of this great article of our faith. Yet all the heathen writers, from whom they borrowed the story, from Herodotus, down to their own times, treat it as nothing else but a mere fable.

Yet the following passage, which occurs in Tacitus, no very credulous writer, proves that the assertion of Middleton is not strictly accurate. See the 6th book of his Annals, c. 28.

Paullo Fabio, L. Vetellio Coss. post longum seculorum ambitum avis phœnix in Ægyptum venit, præbuitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Græcorum multa super eo miraculo disserendi; de quibus congruunt et plura ambigua sed cognita non absurda promere libet. Sacrum Soli id animal et ore et distinctu pennarum a cæteris avibus diversum consentiunt qui formam ejus definiere; de numero annorum varia traduntur, maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium.

After telling the story almost in the same manner as Herodotus does in the chapter before us, Tacitus thus concludes:

Hæc incerta et fabulosis aucta, cæterum *aspici in Ægypto aliquando eam volucrem non ambigitur.*

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even among themselves; for according to the Heliopolitans, it comes there but once in the course of five hundred years, and then only at

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There is therefore no doubt but that the phœnix was sometimes seen in Ægypt.

The assertion, therefore, of Middleton, should have been more qualified.

I find the following remark in Thomasius de Plagio Literario.

Herodotus in secundo ex historica Hecatæi Milesii narratione quamplurima verbis totidem exscripsisse dicitur, pauca quædam leviter ementitus, cujusmodi sunt, quæ de phœnice ave, deque fluviatili equo et crocodilorum venatione commemorat. p. 204.

As to what he may have borrowed from Hecatæus, nothing can be said, but the term 'leviter ementitus' does not appear to be candidly applicable to a writer who, in this book particularly, tells you in every page that he only relates the information he received, and who professedly regards the story of the phœnix as fabulous.—*T.*

A very curious fragment, imputed to Hesiod, speaks thus of the phœnix:

Ἔννεα τοι ζώει γενεας λακέρυζα κορώνη
Ἀνδρῶν ἡβώντων, ἔλαφος δέ τε τετρακόρωνος,
Τρεῖς δ' ἐλάφους ὁ κόραξ γηράσκεται, αὐταρ ὁ φοῖνιξ
Ἐννέα τοὺς κόρακας, δέκα δ' ἡμεῖς τοὺς φοίνικας
Νύμφαι εὐπλόκαμοι κοῦραι Διὸς Αἰγιοχοιο.

The chattering crow lives nine ages of youthful men, the stag lives four times as long as the crow, the raven three times as long as the stag, but the phœnix nine times as long as the raven, while we fair-haired nymphs, daughters of Ægis-bearing Jove, live ten times as long as the phœnix.

Whether the above is really Hesiod's, may perhaps be

the decease of the parent bird. If it bear any resemblance to its picture, the wings are partly of a gold and partly of a crimson colour, and its form and size are perfectly like the eagle. They relate one thing of it which surpasses all credibility: they say that it comes from Arabia to the temple of the sun, bearing the dead body of its parent, inclosed in myrrh, which it buries. It makes a ball of myrrh shaped like an egg, as large as it is able to carry, which it proves by experiment. This done, it excavates the mass, into which it introduces the body of the dead bird; it again closes the aperture with myrrh, and the whole becomes the same weight as when composed entirely of myrrh; it then proceeds to Ægypt to the temple of the sun.

LXXIV. In the vicinity of Thebes there are also sacred serpents[138] not at all troublesome to

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disputed; but it is certainly of very great antiquity, as we find it in part quoted by Aristophanes in his Ορνιθες:

Οὐκ οἶσθε ὅτι πέντε γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν ζώει λακέρυζα κορώνη.

Do you not know that the chattering crow lives five ages of men?

138 *Sacred serpents.*]—The symbolical worship of the serpent was in the first ages very extensive, and was introduced into all the mysteries wherever celebrated. It is remarkable that wherever the Ammonians founded any places of worship,

men: they are very small, but have two horns on the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the temple of Jupiter, to whom they are said to belong.

LXXV. There is a place in Arabia, near the city Butos, which I visited for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the winged serpent [139]. I here saw a prodigious quantity of serpents bones and ribs placed on heaps of dif-

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there was generally some story of a serpent. There was a legend about a serpent at Colchis, at Thebes, and at Delphi, &c.—*Bryant.*

The Ægyptians worshipped the goodness of the Creator under the name of Cneph. The symbol, according to Eusebius, was a serpent. "The serpent within a circle, touching it at the two opposite points of its circumference, signifies the good genius."

These serpents, honoured by the name of Haridi, still are famous, as treated by the priests of Achmin.—*Savary.*

We have already observed, that the serpent was a symbol of the sun, to which the Ægyptians gave a place in their sacred tables. Nor did they content themselves with placing the serpent with their gods, but often represented even the gods themselves with the body and tail of a serpent joined to their own head.—*Montfaucon.*

139 *Winged serpent.*] — We ought not to be too prompt either to believe, or the contrary, things which are uncommon. Although I have never seen winged serpents, I believe that they exist; for a Phrygian brought into Ionia a scorpion which had wings like those of the grasshopper.—*Pausanias.*

ferent heights. The place itself is a strait betwixt two mountains, it opens upon a wide plain which communicates with Ægypt. They affirm, that in the commencement of every spring, these winged serpents fly from Arabia towards Ægypt, but that the ibis[140] here meets and destroys them. The Arabians say, that in acknowledgment of

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" The burden of the beasts of the South: into the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the young and old lion, the viper, and fiery flying serpent," &c.—*Isaiah* xxx. 6.

De serpentibus memorandi maxime, quos parvos admodum et veneni præsentis, certo anni tempore ex limo concretarum paludum emergere, in magno examine volantes Ægyptum tendere, atque in ipso introitu finium ab avibus quas ibidas appellant, adverso agmine excipi pugnaque confici traditum est.—*Pomponius Mela.*

[140] *Ibis.*]—The ibis was a bird with a long neck and a crooked beak, not much unlike the stork; his legs were long and stiff, and when he put his head and neck under his wing, the figure he made, as Ælian says, was something like a man's heart. It is said, that the use of clysters was first found out from observations made of this bird's applying that remedy to himself, by the help of his long neck and beak. It is reported of it, that it could live no where but in Ægypt, but would pine itself to death if transported to another country.—*Montfaucon.*

In contradiction to the above, M. Larcher informs us, that one was kept for several years in the Menagerie at Versailles.—*T.*

Hasselquist calls the Ardea ibis, the ibis of the ancient Ægyptians, because it is very common in Ægypt, and almost peculiar to that country; because it eats and destroys serpents; and because the urns found in sepulchres contain a bird of this size: it is of the size of a raven.

this service the Ægyptians hold the ibis in great reverence*, which is not contradicted by that people.

LXXVI. One species of the ibis is entirely black, its beak remarkably crooked, its legs as large as those of a crane, and in size it resembles the crex: this is the enemy of the serpents. The second† species is the most common: these have the head and the whole of the neck naked; the plumage is white, except that on the head, the neck, the extremities of the wings, and the tail; these are of a deep black colour, but the legs and the beak resemble in all respects those of the other species. The form of the flying and of the aquatic serpents is the same: the wings of the

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* The Ægyptians held serpents in great veneration, yet they reverenced the ibis which destroyed them. Whether the frog was held in this twofold predicament may not be easy to determine. This much is certain, that it was very consistent with Divine Wisdom and Justice, to punish the Ægyptians either by what they abominated, or by what they idly revered.—*Bryant.*

† There have been some comical blunders in translating this passage. The original is εν ποσι μαλλον ειλνωμενων τοισι ανθρωποισι. Two French translators render this, who have *feet* most like those of men, implicitly following Valla's Latin, quæ pedes humanis similes habent. Gale has corrected this: he says, quæ hominibus magis observantur. An old English translation of the two first books says "which are brought up and live among men." The literal interpretation is, those that come most in the way of men.

former are not feathered, but entirely like those of the bats.—And thus I have finished my account of the sacred animals.

LXXVII. Those Ægyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country, are of all whom I have seen the most ingenious, being attentive to the improvement of the memory [141] beyond the rest of mankind. To give some idea of their mode of life: for three days successively in every month they use purges, vomits, and clysters; this they do out of attention to their health [142], being

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141 *Of the memory.*]—The invention of local memory is ascribed to Simonides. "Much," says Cicero, "do I thank Simonides of Chios, who first of all invented the art of memory." Simonides is by some authors affirmed to have taken medicines to acquire this accomplishment.—*See Bayle*, article *Simonides*.

Mr. Hume remarks, that the faculty of memory was much more valued in ancient times than at present; that there is scarce any great genius celebrated in antiquity, who is not celebrated for this talent, and it is enumerated by Cicero amongst the sublime qualities of Cæsar.—*T.*

142 *Their health, &c.*]—This assertion was true previous to the time of Herodotus, and a long time afterwards; but when they began to neglect the canals, the water putrefied, and the vapours which were exhaled rendering the air of Ægypt very unhealthy, malignant fevers soon began to appear: these became epidemical, and these vapours concentrating and becoming every day more pestilential, finally caused that dreadful malady known by the name of the plague. It was not so before canals were sunk at all, or as long as they were kept in good order: but probably that

persuaded that the diseases of the body, are occasioned by the different elements received as food. Besides this, we may venture to assert, that after the Africans there is no people in health and constitution[143] to be compared with

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part of Lower Ægypt which inclines to Elearchis has never been healthy.—*Larcher.*

[143] *Health and constitution.*]—It is of this country, which seems to have been regarded by nature with a favourable eye, that the gods have made a sort of terrestrial paradise.—The air there is more pure and excellent than in any other part of the world; the women, and the females of other species, are more fruitful than any where else; the lands are more productive. As the men there commonly enjoy perfect health, the trees and plants never lose their verdure, and the fruits are always delicious, or at least salutary. It is true, that this air, good as it is, is subject to be corrupted in some proportion to other climates. It is even bad in those parts where, when the inundations of the Nile have been very great, this river in returning to its channel, leaves marshy places, which infect the country round about: the dew is also very dangerous in Ægypt.—*Quoted from Maillet, by Harmer in his Observations on Scripture.*

Pococke says, that the dew of Ægypt occasions very dangerous disorders in the eyes; but he adds, that they have the plague very rarely in Ægypt, unless brought by infection to Alexandria, where it does not commonly spread. Some suppose that this distemper breeds in temperate weather, and that excessive cold and heat stops it; so that they have it not in Constantinople in winter, nor in Ægypt in summer. The air of Cairo in particular is not thought to be wholesome; the people are much subject to fluxes, and troubled with ruptures; the small-pox also is common, but not dangerous; pulmonary diseases are unknown. Savary

the Ægyptians. To this advantage the climate, which is here subject to no variation, may essentially contribute: changes of all kinds, and those in particular of the seasons, promote and occasion the maladies of the body. To their bread, which they make with spelt, they give the name of cyllestis; they have no vines [144] in the country, but

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speaks in high terms of the healthiness of the climate, but allows that the season from February to the end of May is unhealthy. Volney, who contradicts Savary in many of his assertions, confirms what he says of the climate of Ægypt.

As Herodotus makes no mention of the ophthalmia, nor of the plague, it may reasonably be doubted whether these diseases have always prevailed in Ægypt.

[144] *No vines.*]—That there must have been vines in some parts of Ægypt, is evident from the following passage in the book of Numbers: "And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Ægypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed or of figs, *or of vines*, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink." Larcher therefore supposes Herodotus to speak only of that part of Ægypt where corn was cultivated. Again, in the Psalms, we have this passage: "He destroyed their vines with hail-stones." Ægypt, however, certainly never was a wine country, nor is it now productive of a quantity adequate to the wants of the inhabitants.—*T.*

Whatever was the origin of the aversion to wine among the ancient Ægyptians, it is plain that their religion inculcated it as a liquor productive of mischief and impiety; and Mahomet might possibly improve and extend this idea, for moral and political purposes.

The Greeks were wrong, says Savary, in wishing to establish a perfect resemblance betwixt Bacchus and Osiris. The first was honoured as the author of the vine; but the

they drink a liquor fermented from barley[145]; they live principally upon fish, either salted[146] or

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Ægyptians, far from attributing its culture to Osiris, held wine in abhorrence. "The Ægyptians," says Plutarch, "never drank wine before the time of Psammitichus; they held this liquor to be the blood of the giants, who having made war on the gods, had perished in battle, and that the vine sprang from the earth mingled with their blood; nor did they offer it in libations, thinking it odious to the gods." Whence the Oriental aversion for wine originated, would be difficult to say, but exist it did, which probably was one reason why it was forbidden by Mahomet. Perhaps we should seek for the cause in the curse of Noah, pronounced upon Ham, who insulted his father, finding him drunk.—*Savary.*

Of the small quantity of wine made anciently in Ægypt, some was carried to Rome, and, according to Maillet, was the third in esteem of their wines.—*T.*

The following curious passage occurs in Athenæus, L. 1, at the conclusion:

Hellanicus says that the vine was first discovered at Plinthine, a town in Ægypt. For this reason Dion, the academician, observes that the Ægyptians were lovers of wine and the bottle; and since, on account of their poverty, great numbers must be without wine, to comfort themselves they drank a liquor made from barley; filled with this, they were so delighted that they sung, danced, and leaped about like those intoxicated with wine.

It seems not unworthy of remark in this place, that the Ægyptians were always famous for their vinegar, which was principally made at Pharos. In this Cleopatra dissolved the pearl which she presented in a bowl of wine to Antony.

flebile

[145—146 For these notes, see the two following pages.]

dried in the sun: they eat also quails[147], ducks, and some smaller birds, without other preparation

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- - - - flebile nati
Sinciput elixi, Pharioque madentis aceto.
JUV.

Common vinegar, says Dr. Barry, has not strength enough to reduce such hard substances to a liquid form.

[145] *Fermented from barley.*]—See a dissertation on barley wine, before alluded to, where, amongst a profusion of witty and humorous remarks, much real information is communicated on this subject.—*T.*

The most vulgar people make a sort of beer of barley, without being malted; they put something in it to make it intoxicate, and call it *bouny:* they make it ferment; 'tis thick and sour, and will not keep longer than three or four days.—*Pococke.*

The invention of this liquor of barley is universally attributed to Osiris.

It is no less singular than true, that there are few nations, however barbarous, who have not discovered how to make a liquor similar in its effects to wine. In various parts of Africa they brew beer from maize, make a species of wine from plums, and a strong liquor from honey. But, what is still more remarkable, the inhabitants of Kamschatka obtain a drink of some potency from putrefied fish. But the Tartar's drink (from the fermented milk of his favourite mares, and which he denominates koumiss) has obtained the praise even of Europeans. There is a root called ava (piper methysticum) which the islanders of the South Sea chew, and then spit into the liquor of the cocoa nut. This ferments, and is said to form a very palatable liquor. See Winterbottom's account of the native Africans of Sierra Leone.

Stedman,

[147 For this note see next page.]

than first salting them; but they roast and boil such other birds and fishes as they have, excepting those which are preserved for sacred purposes.

Stedman, in his History of Surinam, informs us, that the natives of Guiana obtain an inebriating liquor by chewing cassava bread, and spitting it out into water; this is said to resemble ale in its taste. The inhabitants of Chili and Brazil do the same. This process is the employment of old women.

An Englishman may in this place be excused, if he asserts, with some degree of pride, that the "wine of barley" made in this country, or in other words, British beer, is superior to what is made in any other part of the world: the beer of Bremen is however deservedly famous. It has been asserted by some, that our brewers throw dead dogs flayed into the wort, and boil them till the flesh is all consumed. "Others," say the authors of the Encyclopædia Britannica, "more equitable, attribute the excellency of our beer to the quality of our malt and water, and skill of our brewers."—*T.*

146 *Salted.*]—A distinction must here be observed betwixt sea-salt and fossil-salt: the Ægyptians abhorred the former, but made no scruple of using the latter.—*T.*

147 *Quails.*]—"The quails of Ægypt are esteemed a great delicacy, are of the size of a turtle dove, and called by Hasselquist, Tetrao Israelitarum." A dispute, however, has arisen amongst the learned, whether the food of the Israelites in the Desert was a bird; many suppose that they fed on locusts. Their immense quantities seem to form an argument in favour of this latter opinion, not easily to be set aside; to which may be added, that the Arabs at the present day eat locusts when fresh, and esteem them when salted a great delicacy.

Horneman had eaten of locusts in Fezzan, and thus describes them:

Here, for the first time, I was regaled with the great Fezzan

LXXVIII. At the entertainments of the rich, just as the company is about to rise from the repast, a small coffin is carried round, containing a perfect representation of a dead body: it is in size sometimes of one, but never of more than two cubits, and as it is shewn to the guests in rotation, the bearer exclaims, "Cast your eyes on this figure, after death you yourself will resemble it; drink then, and be happy."—Such are the customs they observe at entertainments.

LXXIX. They contentedly adhere to the customs of their ancestors, and are averse to foreign manners [148]. Among other things which claim

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dainty, of locusts or grasshoppers, and a drink called lugibi. The latter is composed of the juice of date-trees, and when fresh, is sweet and agreeable enough to the taste, but is apt to produce flatulency and diarrhœa. At first I did not relish the dried locusts, but when accustomed, grew fond of them; when eaten, the legs and wings are broken off, and the inner part is scooped out, and what remains has a flavour similar to that of red herrings, but more delicious.

[148] *Averse to foreign manners.*]—The attachment of the Ægyptians to their country has been a frequent subject of remark; it is nevertheless singular, that great numbers of them anciently lived as servants in other lands. Mr. Harmer observes, that Hagar was an Ægyptian, with many others; and that it will not be easy to pick out from the Old Testament accounts an equal number of servants of other countries, that lived in foreign lands mentioned there.—*T.*

our approbation, they have a song*, which is also used in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and other places, where it is differently named. Of all the things which astonished me in Ægypt, nothing more perplexed me than my curiosity to know whence the Ægyptians learned this song, so entirely resembling the Linus of the Greeks; it is of the remotest antiquity among them, and they call

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* *They have a song.*]—Linus, says Diodorus Siculus, was the first inventor of melody amongst the Greeks. We are told by Athenæus, that the strain called Linus was very melancholy. Linus was supposed to have been the first lyric poet in Greece, and was the master of Orpheus, Thamyris, and Hercules.

Plutarch, from Heraclides of Pontus, mentions certain dirges as composed by Linus; his death gave rise to a number of songs in honour of his memory: to these Homer is supposed to allude in the following lines:

> To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
> Whose tender lay the fate of Linus sings:
> In measured dance behind him move the train,
> Tune soft the voice, and answer to the strain.
>
> *Pope.*

Song in Greece is supposed to have preceded the use of letters.—Not only the Ægyptians, but the Hebrews, Arabians, Assyrians, Persians, and Indians had their national songs.

Montaigne has preserved an original Caribbean song, which he does not hesitate to declare worthy of Anacreon.

"O snake, stay; stay, O snake, that my sister may draw from the pattern of thy painted skin the fashion and work of a rich ribbon, which I mean to present to my mistress: so may thy beauty and thy disposition be preferred to all other serpents. O snake, stay!"

it Maneros. They have a tradition that Maneros was the only son of their first monarch; and that having prematurely died, they instituted these melancholy strains in his honour, constituting their first, and in earlier times, their only song.

LXXX. The Ægyptians surpass all the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians excepted, in the reverence[149] which they pay to age: if a young person meet his senior, he instantly turns aside to make way for him; if a senior enter an apartment, the

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149 *Reverence, &c.*]—The following story is related by Valerius Maximus: An old Athenian going to the theatre, was not able to find a place amongst his countrymen; coming by accident where the ambassadors from Sparta were sitting, they all respectfully rose, and gave him the place of honour amongst them. The people were loud in their applause, which occasioned a Spartan to remark, that the Athenians were not ignorant of virtue, though they forbore to practise it.

Juvenal, reprobating the dissipation and profligacy of the times in which he lived, expresses himself thus:

> Credebant hoc grande nefas et morte piandum
> Si juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat, et si
> Barbato cuicunque puer.

As if the not paying a becoming reverence to age was the highest mark of degeneracy which could be shown.

Savary tells his readers, that the reverence here mentioned is at this day in Ægypt exhibited on every occasion to those advanced in years. Various modes of testifying respect are adopted amongst different nations, but this of rising from the seat seems to be in a manner instinctive, and to prevail every where.—*T.*

youth always rise from their seats; this ceremony is observed by no other of the Greeks. When the Ægyptians meet, they do not speak, but make a profound reverence, bowing with the hand down to the knee.

LXXXI. Their habit, which they call calasiris[150], is made of linen, and fringed at the bottom; over this they throw a kind of shawl* made of white wool, but in these vests of wool they are forbidden by their religion either to be buried or to enter any sacred edifice; this is a

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150 *Calasiris.*]—This calasiris they wore next the skin, and it seems to have served them both for shirt and vest, it being the custom of the Ægyptians to go lightly clothed; it appears also to have been in use amongst the Greeks.—See *Montfaucon.* Pococke, with other modern travellers, informs us that the dress of the Ægyptians seems to have undergone very little change; the most simple dress being only a long shirt with wide sleeves, tied about the middle. When they performed any religious offices, we find from Herodotus, they were clothed only in linen; and at this day when the Ægyptians enter a mosque they put on a white garment; which circumstance, Pococke remarks, might probably give rise to the use of the surplice. To this simplicity of dress in the men, it appears that the dress of the females, in costliness and magnificence, exhibits a striking contrast.—*T.*

* Larcher translates this, "a garment made of wool." Shawls are in universal use at this day in all these countries; and it is not unworthy of remark, that one of Bonaparte's objects in robbing the caravan from Syria to Mecca, was the rich shawls destined for Cairo.

peculiarity of those ceremonies which are called Orphic[151] and Pythagorean[152]: whoever has been initiated in these mysteries can never be interred in a vest of wool, for which a sacred reason is assigned.

LXXXII. Of the Ægyptians it is farther memorable, that they first imagined what month or day was to be consecrated to each deity; they

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151 *Orphic.*]—Those initiated into Orpheus's mysteries were called Orpheolelestai, who assured all admitted into their society of certain felicity after death: which when Philip, one of that order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, Leotychidas the Spartan replied, "Why do you not die then, you fool, and put an end to your misfortunes together with your life?" At their initiation little else was required of them besides an oath of secresy.—*Potter.*

So little do we know about Orpheus, that Aristotle does not scruple to question his existence. The celebrated Orphic verses cited by Justin are judged by Dr. Jortin to be forgeries.—*T.*

152 *Pythagorean.*]—To be minute in our account of the school of Pythagoras, would perhaps be trifling with the patience of some readers, whilst to pass it over without any notice might give offence to others. Born at Samos, he travelled to various countries, but Ægypt was the great source from which he derived his knowledge. On his return to his country, he was followed by numbers of his disciples; from hence came a crowd of legislators, philosophers, and scholars, the pride of Greece. To the disciples of Pythagoras the world is doubtless indebted for the discovery of numbers, of the principles of music, of physics, and of morals.—*T.*

also from observing the days of nativity[153], venture to predict the particular circumstances of a man's life and death: this is done by the poets of Greece*, but the Ægyptians have certainly discovered more things that are wonderful than all the rest of mankind. Whenever any prodigy occurs, they commit the particulars to writing, and mark the events which follow it: if they afterwards observe any similar incident, they conclude that the result will be similar also.

LXXXIII. The art of divination[154] in Ægypt is confined to certain of their deities. There are in this country oracles of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva and Diana, of Mars, and of Jupiter; but the oracle of Latona at Butos is held in

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153 *Days of nativity.*]—Many illustrious characters have in all ages and countries given way to this weakness; but that such a man as Dryden should place confidence in such prognostications, cannot fail to impress the mind with conviction of the melancholy truth, that the most exalted talents are seldom without their portion of infirmity.

Sully also was marked by this weakness; and Richelieu and Mazarin kept an astrologer in pay.—See an ingenious Essay upon the Dæmon of Socrates, by Mr. Nares.—*T.*

Casting the nativity, or by calculation seeking to know how long the queen should live, was made felony by act of the 23d of Elizabeth.

* Herodotus here alludes to Hesiod.

154 *Art of divination.*]—Of such high importance was this art anciently esteemed, that no military expedition was undertaken without the presence of one or more diviners.

greater estimation than any of the rest: the oracular communication is regulated by no fixed system, but is differently obtained in different places.

LXXXIV. The art of medicine[155] in Ægypt is thus exercised: one physician is confined to one disease; there are of course a great number who practise this art; some attend to disorders

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155 *Art of medicine.*]—It is remarkable, with regard to medicine, that none of the sciences sooner arrived at perfection; for in the space of two thousand years, elapsed since the time of Hippocrates, there has scarcely been added a new aphorism to those of that great man, notwithstanding all the care and application of so many ingenious men as have since studied that science.—*Dutens.*

The Ægyptians were always famed for their knowledge in medicine, and their physicians were held in great repute. We find even in later times, when their country was in a manner ruined, that a king of Persia, upon a grievous hurt received, applied to the adepts in Ægypt for assistance, in preference to those of other countries.

With respect to the state of chirurgery amongst the ancients, a perusal of Homer alone will be sufficient to satisfy every candid reader, that their knowledge and skill were far from contemptible. Celsus gives an exact account and description of the operation for the stone, which implies both a knowledge of anatomy, and some degree of perfection in the art of instrument-making.

The three qualities, says Bayle, of a good physician, are probity, learning, and good fortune; and whoever peruses the oath which anciently every professor of medicine was obliged to take, must both acknowledge its merit as a composition, and admire the amiable disposition which it inculcates.—*T.*

of the eyes*, others to those of the head; some take care of the teeth, others are conversant with all diseases of the bowels; whilst many attend to the cure of maladies which are less conspicuous.

LXXXV. With respect to their funerals and ceremonies of mourning; whenever a man of any importance dies, the females of his family[156], disfiguring their heads and faces with dirt, leave the corpse in the house, and run publicly about, accompanied by their female relations, with their garments in disorder, their breasts exposed, and beating themselves severely: the men on their parts do the same, after which the body is carried to the embalmers[157].

* This, with one other passage, c. 11, of this book, are the only allusions to that most cruel disease, the ophthalmia, with which Ægypt is now so much tormented.

156 *Females of his family.*]—"I was awakened before day-break by the same troop of women; their dismal cries suited very well with the lonely hour of the night. This mourning lasts for the space of seven days, during which interval the female relations of the deceased make a tour through the town morning and night, beating their breasts, throwing ashes on their heads, and displaying every artificial token of sorrow."—*Irwin.*

The assembling together of multitudes to the place where persons have lately expired, and bewailing them in a noisy manner, is a custom still retained in the East, and seems to be considered as an honour done to the deceased.—*Harmer.* This writer relates a curious circumstance corroborative of the above, from the MS. of Chardin; see vol. ii. 136.

157 *Embalmers.*]—The following remarks on the subject of embalming are compiled from different authors.

The

LXXXVI. There are certain persons appointed by law to the exercise of this profession.

The Jews embalmed their dead, but instead of emboweling, were contented with an external unction. The present way in Ægypt, according to Maillet, is to wash the body repeatedly with rose-water.

Diodorus Siculus is very minute on this subject: after describing the expence and ceremony of embalming, he adds, that the relations of the deceased, till the body was buried, used neither baths, wine, delicate food, nor fine clothes.

The same author describes three methods of embalming, with the first of which our author does not appear to have been acquainted. The form and appearance of the whole body was so well preserved, that the deceased might be known by their features.

The Romans had the art of embalming as well as the Ægyptians; and if what is related of them be true, this art had arrived to greater perfection in Rome than in Ægypt.—See *Montfaucon.* A modern author remarks, that the numberless mummies which still endure, after so long a course of ages, ought to ascertain to the Ægyptians the glory of having carried chemistry to a degree of perfection attained but by few. Some moderns have attempted by certain preparations to preserve dead bodies entire, but to no purpose.—*T.*

Whoever wishes to know more on the subject of embalming, will do well to consult M. Rouelle's Memoir in the Academy of Sciences, for 1750, p. 150, and Dr. Hadley's Dissertation in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. liv. p. 3. 14. The first calls the wrapper cotton, the other determines it to be like long lawn, woven after the manner of Russia sheeting. A great deal of farther information may also be had from Larcher. The words of Herodotus are remarkable and precise; σινδονος βυσσινης, linen of cotton, or cotton linen. Thus Pollux and also Arrian define, what we have now so common, Indian cotton.

When a dead body is brought to them, they exhibit to the friends of the deceased, different models highly finished in wood. The most perfect of these they say resembles one whom I do not think it religious to name in such a matter; the second is of less price, and inferior in point of execution; another is still more mean; they then enquire after which model the deceased shall be represented: when the price is determined, the relations retire, and the embalmers thus proceed: In the most perfect specimens of their art, they draw the brain through the nostrils, partly with a piece of crooked iron, and partly by the infusion of drugs; they then with an Æthiopian stone make an incision in the side, through which they extract the intestines[158]; these they cleanse thoroughly, washing them with palm-wine, and afterwards covering them with pounded aromatics: they then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh[159], cassia, and other perfumes, except frankincense. Having sown up the body, it is

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[158] *Intestines.*]—Porphyry informs us what afterwards becomes of these: they are put into a chest, and one of the embalmers makes a prayer for the deceased, addressed to the sun, the purport of which is to signify that if the conduct of the deceased has during his life been at all criminal, it must have been on account of these; the embalmer then points to the chest, which is afterwards thrown into the river.—*T.*

[159] *Myrrh.*]—Instead of myrrh and cassia, the Jews in embalming used myrrh and aloes.—*T.*

covered with nitre [160] for the space of seventy days [161], which time they may not exceed; at the end of this period it is washed, closely wrapped in bandages of cotton [162], dipped in a gum [163]

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160 *Nitre.*]—Larcher says, this was not of the nature of our nitre, but a fixed alkaline salt.

Literally, it is salted or pickled with nitre. In the less expensive mode of embalming, Rouelle observes that it was impossible to inject at the fundament, as it were by clysters, a sufficient quantity of cedar liquid ointment, to consume the whole inside, and that they must therefore have made some additional openings. Herodotus expressly says, they made no incisions in the meaner subjects (see c. 87), but stopping up the body a certain number of days, and pickling it, they afterwards let out the cedar fluid, which consumes the inside as the nitre does the outside, leaving only a skeleton in the skin. The third class, or poor, were washed internally with a liquor called syrmaie, and pickled in nitre the usual time. The intestines of the Teneriffe mummy were extracted by an incision in the right side of the abdomen, afterwards sewed up. The nitre here mentioned, is doubtless the natron which is found in such abundance in the Natra Lakes.

161 *Seventy days.*]—"If the nitre or natrum had been suffered," says Larcher, "to remain for a longer period, it would have attacked the solid or fibrous parts, and dissolved them; if it had been a neutral salt, like our nitre, this precaution would not have been necessary."

162 *Cotton.*]—By the byssus cotton seems clearly to be meant, "which," says Larcher, "was probably consecrated by their religion to the purpose of embalming." Mr. Greaves asserts, that these bandages in which the mummies were involved were of linen; but he appears to be mistaken. There

[163 For this note see next page.]

which the Ægyptians use as glue: it is then returned to the relations, who enclose the body in a case of wood, made to resemble an human figure, and place it against the wall* in the repository of their dead. The above is the most costly mode of embalming.

LXXXVII. They who wish to be less expensive, adopt the following method: they neither draw out the intestines, nor make any incision in the dead body, but inject an unguent made from the cedar; after taking proper means to secure the injected oil within the body, it is covered with nitre for the time above specified [164]: on the last

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There are two species of this plant, annual and perennial; it was the latter which was cultivated in Ægypt.

[163] *Gum.*]—This was gum arabic. Pococke says it is produced from the acacia, which is very common in Ægypt, the same as the acacia, called *cyale* in Arabia Petræa: in Ægypt it is called *fount*.

* - - - Ægyptia tellus
Claudit odorato post funus stantia busto
Corpora.

[164] *Time above specified.*]—According to Irwin, the time of mourning of the modern Ægyptians is only seven days: the Jews in the time of Moses mourned thirty days. The mourning for Jacob, we find from Genesis, chap. 50. ver. 3, was the time here prescribed for the process of embalming; but how are we to explain the preceding verses?

"And

day they withdraw the liquor before introduced, which brings with it all the bowels and intestines; the nitre eats away the flesh, and the skin and bones only remain: the body is returned in this state, and no farther care taken concerning it.

LXXXVIII. There is a third mode of embalming appropriated to the poor. A particular kind of ablution [165] is made to pass through the body, which is afterwards left in nitre for the above seventy days, and then returned.

LXXXIX. The wives of men of rank, and such females as have been distinguished by their beauty or importance, are not immediately on their decease delivered to the embalmers: they are usually kept for three or four days, which is done to prevent any indecency being offered to their persons. An instance once occurred of an embalmer's gratifying his lust on the body of

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"And Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father; and the physicians embalmed Israel.

"And forty days were fulfilled for him; (for so are fulfiled the days of those which are embalmed) and the Ægyptians mourned for him three score and ten days,"—*T.*

165 *Ablution.*]—The particular name of this ablution is in the original *surmaia,* some believe it a composition of salt and water; the word occurs again in chap. cxxv. where it signifies a radish.—*T.*

a female lately dead: the crime was divulged by a fellow artist.

XC. If an Ægyptian or a foreigner be found either destroyed by a crocodile or drowned in the water, the city nearest which the body is discovered*, is obliged to embalm and pay it every respectful attention, and afterwards deposit it in some consecrated place: no friend or relation is suffered to interfere, the whole process is conducted by the priests of the Nile [166], who bury it themselves with a respect to which a lifeless corpse would hardly seem entitled.

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* It is impossible to read this passage without admiring the wisdom as well as humanity of this institution and practice.

[166] *Priests of the Nile.*]—That the Nile was esteemed and worshipped as a god, having cities, priests, festivals, and sacrifices consecrated to it, is sufficiently evident.—" No god," says Plutarch, " is more solemnly worshipped than the Nile."—" The grand festival of the Nile," says Heliodorus, " was the most solemn festival of the Ægyptians: they regard him as the rival of heaven, since without clouds or rain he waters the lands."

The memory of these ancient superstitions is still preserved, and is seen in the great pomp with which the canal of Grand Cairo is opened every year. It appears also from the representations of modern travellers, that the Ægyptian women bathe in the Nile at the time of its beginning to rise, to express their veneration for the benefits it confers on their country. Irwin tells us, that a sacred procession along the banks of the Nile is annually made by women on the first visible rise of the river.—*T.*

XCI. To the customs of Greece they express aversion, and to say the truth to those of all other nations. This remark applies, with only one exception, to every part of Ægypt. Chemmis [167] is a place of considerable note in the Thebaid, it is near Neapolis, and remarkable for a temple of Perseus [168] the son of Danae. This temple is

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167 *Chemmis.*]—The Ægyptians called this place Cheinmo. Chemmis seems to be a Greek termination; it is the same place with Panopolis. Plutarch informs us, that Pans and Satyrs once dwelt near Chemmis, which tradition probably arose from the circumstance of the worship of Pan commencing first in this place.—*Larcher.*

I suppose Akmim to have been Panopolis, famous of old for workers in stone, and for the linen manufactures; at present they make coarse cotton here. It appears plainly from Diodorus, that this place is what was called Chemmis by Herodotus. It is now the place of residence of the prince of Akmim, who has the title of emir or prince, and is as a sheik of the country.—*Pococke.*

Jablonski's observation, that the Copts prefix a vowel to words beginning with a consonant, will go a great way towards determining Achmin or Akmim to be the ancient Chemmis. See some very curious remarks of Mr. Wilford's in the Asiatic Researches, on the affinity of Indian, Ægyptian, and Grecian Mythology, vol. iii. 8vo. ed. p. 435.

168 *Perseus*]—was one of the most ancient heroes in the mythology of Greece. The history of Perseus came apparently from Ægypt. Herodotus more truly represents him as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian (book vi. 54.) He resided in Ægypt, and is said to have reigned at Memphis. To say the truth, he was worshipped there, for Perseus was a title of the deity. Perseus was no other than

of a square figure, and surrounded with palm-trees. The vestibule, which is very spacious, is constructed of stone, and on the summit are placed two large marble statues. Within the consecrated enclosure stand the shrine and statue of Perseus, who, as the inhabitants affirm, often appears in the country and the temple. They sometimes find one of his sandals, which are of the length of two cubits, and whenever this happens, fertility reigns throughout Ægypt. Public games, after the manner of the Greeks, are celebrated in his honour. Upon this occasion they have every variety of gymnastic exercise. The rewards of the conquerors are cattle, vests, and skins[169]. I was once induced to enquire why

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the sun, the chief god of the Gentile world. On this account he had a temple at Chemmis, Memphis, and in other parts of Ægypt. His true name was Perez or Parez, rendered Peresis, Perses, and Perseus; and in the account given of this personage we have the history of the Peresians, Parrhasians, and Perezites, in their several peregrinations. — *Bryant.*

169 *Skins.*]—To prove that skins were in ancient times distributed as prizes at games, Wesseling quotes the following lines from Homer.

—— *οὐχ ἱερήιον, οὐδὲ* BOEIHN
Ἀρνύσθην ἅτε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν,

which literally means, "They did not attempt to gain a victim or the *skin of an ox*, the prize of the racers."

Which Pope, entirely omitting the more material circumstance of the sentence, very erroneously renders thus:

- - - No

Perseus made his appearance to them alone, and why they were distinguished from the rest of Ægypt by the celebration of gymnastic exercises[170]? They informed me in return, that Perseus was a native of their country, as were also Danaus and Lynceus, who made a voyage into Greece, and from whom, in regular succession, they related that Perseus was descended. This hero visited Ægypt for the purpose, as the Greeks also affirm, of carrying from Africa the Gorgon's head[171]. Happening to come among them, he

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- - - No vulgar prize they play,
No vulgar victim must reward the day,
(Such as in races crown the speedy strife.)—*T.*

170 *Gymnastic exercises.*]—These were five in number. They began with the foot-race, which was the most ancient. The second was leaping with weights in the hand; and mention is made in Pausanias, of a man who leaped fifty-two feet. The third was wrestling: the victor was required to throw his adversary three times. The fourth was the disk; and the fifth boxing. This last was sometimes with the naked fist, and sometimes with the cæstus.—*T.*

171 *Gorgon's head.*]—The Gorgons were three in number, sisters, the daughters of Phorcys, a sea-god, and Ceto, of whom Medusa was the chief, or according to some authors the only one who was mortal. Her story was this: Independent of her other accomplishments, her golden hair was so very beautiful, that it captivated the god Neptune, who enjoyed her person in the temple of Minerva. The goddess in anger changed her hair into snakes, the sight of which transformed the spectators into stones. From the union of Medusa with Neptune Pegasus was born; but after that, no

saw and was known to his relations. The name of Chemmis he had previously known from his mother, and he himself instituted the games which they continued to celebrate.

XCII. These which I have described, are the manners of those Ægyptians who live in the higher parts of the country. They who inhabit the marshy grounds differ in no material in-

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one with impunity could look at Medusa. Perseus, borrowing the wings of Mercury, and the shield of Minerva, came suddenly upon her when she and her snakes were asleep, and cut off her head.

But in every circumstance of the mythology of the Gorgons, there is great disagreement in different ancient authors: according to some the blood of Medusa alone produced Pegasus.

The face of Medusa frequently exercised the skill of the more ancient artists, who, notwithstanding what is mentioned above, sometimes represented it as exceedingly beautiful.

The following description of the daughters of Phorcys, and of the Gorgons, I give from the Prometheus Vinctus of Æschylus, in the animated version of Potter:

Thou shalt come to the Gorgonian plains
Of Cisthine, where dwell the swan-like forms
Of Phorcys' daughters, bent and white with age;
One common eye have these, one common tooth,
And never does the sun with cheerful ray
Visit them darkling, nor the moon's pale orb
That silvers o'er the night. The Gorgons nigh,
Their sisters, these spread their broad wings, and wreath
Their horrid hair with serpents, fiends abhorr'd,
Whom never mortal could behold and live. *T.*

stance. Like the Greeks, they confine themselves to one wife[172]. To procure themselves the means of sustenance more easily, they make use of the following expedient: when the waters have risen to their extremest height, and all their fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Ægyptians call the lotos[173]: having cut down these, they dry them in the sun.

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172 *To one wife.*]—Modern travellers inform us, that although the Mahometan law allows every man to have four wives, many are satisfied with one.

"The equality in the number of males and females born into the world, intimates," says Mr. Paley, "the intention of God, that one woman should be assigned to one man."

"From the practice of polygamy permitted amongst the Turks," says Volney, "the men are enervated very early; and nothing is more common than to hear men of thirty complaining of impotence. But still it is no new remark, that the conversion of infidels is retarded by the prohibition of more wives than one."

That the Greeks did not always confine themselves to one wife, we learn from certain authority. Euripides was known to be a woman-hater, "but," says Hume, "it was because he was coupled to two noisy vixens." The reader will find many ingenious remarks and acute reasonings in Hume's 19th Essay on polygamy and divorces.—*T.*

173 *Lotos.*]—The lotos is an aquatic plant peculiar to Ægypt, which grows in rivulets, and by the side of lakes. There are two species, the one bearing a white, the other a bluish flower. The root of the first species is round, resembling a potatoe, and is eaten by the inhabitants who live near the lake Menzala.—*Savary.*

The

The seed of the flower, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread; they also eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the size of an apple. There is a second species of the lotos, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a rose. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root, is like a wasp's nest: it is found to contain a number of kernels of the size of an olive-stone, which are very grateful, either fresh or dried. Of the byblus, which is an annual plant, after taking it from a marshy place, where it grows, they cut off the tops, and apply

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The lotos is of the lily species. We find this singular remark in the Mémoire sur Vénus:—"Le lys étoit odieux à Venus parce qu'il lui disputoit la beauté. Aussi pour s'en venger fit-elle croître au milieu de ses petales la membre de l'âne." The above is translated from the Alexipharmaca of Nicander.—*T.*

The byblus or papyrus the ancients converted to a great variety of uses, for particulars of which consult Pliny and Strabo. It is a rush, and grows to the height of eight or nine feet; it is now very scarce in Ægypt, for Hasselquist makes no mention of it. The use of the papyrus for books was not found out till after the building of Alexandria. As anciently books were rolled up, the nature of the papyrus made it very convenient for this purpose. They wrote upon the inner skins of the stalk. From papyrus comes our English word paper.

They who wish to see an illustration of Herodotus from modern writers in the article of natural history, may consult Forskal and Niebuhr's Plantarum Icones.

them to various uses. They eat or sell what remains, which is nearly a cubit in length. To make this a still greater delicacy, there are many who previously roast it. With a considerable part of this people, fish constitutes the principal article of food; they dry it in the sun, and eat it without other preparation.

XCIII. Those fishes which are gregarious, seldom multiply in the Nile, they usually propagate in the lakes. At the season of spawning they move in vast multitudes towards the sea; the males lead the way, and emit the engendering principle in their passage; this the females absorb as they follow, and in consequence, conceive. As soon as the seminal matter has had its proper operation, they leave the sea, return up the river, and endeavour to regain their accustomed haunts. The mode, however, of their passage is reversed, the females lead the way, whilst the males follow. The females do now what the males did before, they drop their spawn, resembling small grains of millet, which the males eagerly devour. Every particle of this contains a small fish, and each which escapes the males regularly increases till it becomes a fish. Of these fish, such as are taken in their passage towards the sea, are observed to have the left part of their heads depressed, which on their return is observed of their right. The cause of this is obvious: as they pass to the sea

they rub themselves against the banks on the left side; as they return they keep closely to the same bank, and in both instances press against it, that they may not be obliged to deviate from their course by the current of the stream. As the Nile gradually rises, the water first fills those cavities of the land which are nearest the river. As soon as these are saturated, an abundance of small fry may be discovered. The cause of their increase may perhaps be thus explained: when the Nile ebbs, the fish, which in the preceding season had deposited their spawn in the mud, retreat reluctantly with the stream; but at the proper season, when the river flows, this spawn is matured into fish.

XCIV. The inhabitants of the marshy grounds make use of an oil, which they term the kiki, expressed from the Sillicyprian plant. In Greece this plant springs spontaneously without any cultivation, but the Ægyptians sow it on the banks of the river, and of the canals; it there produces fruit in great abundance, but of a very strong odour: when gathered, they obtain from it, either by friction or pressure, an unctuous liquid, which diffuses an offensive smell, but for burning* it is equal in quality to the oil of olives.

* The oil here described entirely resembles that obtained by the Africans from the palm-tree. They hold it in great esteem, and use it as butter.

XCV. The Ægyptians are provided with a remedy against gnats*, of which there are a surprizing number. As the wind will not suffer these insects to rise far from the ground, the inhabitants of the higher part of the country usually sleep in turrets. They who live in the marshy grounds use this substitute: each person has a net, with which they fish by day, and which they render useful by night. They cover their beds with their nets, and sleep securely beneath them. If they slept in their common habits, or under linen, the gnats would not fail to torment them, which they do not even attempt through a net.

XCVI. Their vessels of burden are constructed of a species of thorn, which resembles the lotos of Cyrene, and which distils a gum. From this thorn they cut planks, about two cubits square: after disposing these in the form of bricks, and securing them strongly together, they place from side to side benches for the rowers. They do not use timber artificially carved, but bend the planks

* The land of Ægypt being annually overflowed, was on that account pestered with swarms of flies. They were so troublesome, that the people, as Herodotus assures us, were, in many places, forced to lie on the tops of their houses, which were flat, where they were obliged to cover themselves with net-work, called by Juvenal conopeum. This is described by the Scholiast as linum tenuissimis maculis nectum, a knitting together of line into very fine meshes.—*Bryant.*

together with the bark of the byblus made into ropes. They have one rudder, which goes through the keel of the vessel; their mast is made of the same thorn, and the sails are formed from the byblus. These vessels are haled along by land, for unless the wind be very favourable they can make no way against the stream. When they go with the current, they throw from the head of the vessel a hurdle made of tamarisk, fastened together with reeds; they have also a perforated stone of the weight of two talents, this is let fall at the stern, secured by a rope. The name of this kind of bark is baris [174], which the above hurdle, impelled by the tide, draws swiftly along. The stone at the stern regulates its motion. They have immense numbers of these vessels, and some of them of the burden of many thousand talents.

XCVII. During the inundation of the Nile, the cities only are left conspicuous, appearing above the waters like the islands of the Ægean sea *. As long as the flood continues, vessels do

[174] *Baris.*]—Part of the ceremony in most of the ancient mysteries consisted in carrying about a kind of ship or boat; which custom, upon due examination, will be found to relate to nothing else but Noah and the Deluge. The ship of Isis is well known. The name of this, and of all the navicular shrines, was Baris; which is very remarkable, for it was the very name of the mountain, according to Nicolas Damascenus, on which the ark of Noah rested.—*Bryant.*

* For this reason, Oceanus, or the sea, was one of the names given to the Nile.

not confine themselves to the channel of the river, but traverse the fields and the plains. They who then go from Naucratis to Memphis, pass by the pyramids; this, however, is not the usual course, which lies through the point of the Delta, and the city of Cercasorus. If from the sea and the town of Canopus, the traveller desires to go by the plains to Naucratis, he must pass by Anthilla[175] and Archandros.

XCVIII. Of these places Anthilla is the most considerable: whoever may be sovereign of Ægypt, it is assigned perpetually as part of the revenues of the queen, and appropriated to the particular purpose of providing her with sandals; this has been observed ever since Ægypt was tributary to Persia. I should suppose that the other city derives its name from Archander, the son of Pthius, son-in-law of Danaus, and grandson of Achæus. There may probably have been some other Archander, for the name is certainly not Ægyptian.

XCIX. All that I have hitherto asserted has been the result of my own personal remarks or diligent enquiry. I shall now proceed to relate what I learned from conversing with Ægyptians,

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[175] *Anthilla*]—was probably the same place with Gynæcopolis; the superior excellence of its wine made it in after-times celebrated.—*Larcher.*

to which I shall occasionally add what I myself have witnessed.—Menes*, the first sovereign of Ægypt, as I was informed by the priests, effectually detached the ground on which Memphis [176] stands, from the water. Before his time the river

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* Menes, though he is mentioned by Herodotus as the first king of Ægypt, was very far from being such, as I have shewed in the introduction to that treatise published a few years ago, entitled, The Chronology of the Hebrew Bible vindicated. He was indeed the first king of Memphis, and seems to have transferred the seat of empire from Thebes to Memphis, for Diodorus positively says that Memphis was not built till eight generations after the building of Thebes, and that the rise of Memphis was the downfal of Thebes.—*Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, by Bishop Clayton.*

176 *Memphis.*]—Authors are exceedingly divided about the site of ancient Memphis. The opinions of a few of the more eminent are subjoined.

Diodorus Siculus differs from Herodotus with regard to the founder. "Uchoreus," says he, "built the city Memphis, which is the most illustrious of all the cities of Ægypt."

"It is very extraordinary," observes Pococke, "that the situation of Memphis should not be well known, which was so great and famous a city, and for so long a time the capital of Ægypt." See what this writer says farther on the subject, vol. i. 39, which, after all, perhaps better assertains the situation of Memphis than either Gibbon or Savary.

Besides the temple of Vulcan, here mentioned, Memphis was famous for a temple of Venus.

"Is it not astonishing," remarks Savary, "that the site of the ancient metropolis of Ægypt, a city near seven leagues in circumference, containing magnificent temples and palaces, which art laboured to render eternal, should at present be a subject of dispute amongst the learned? Pliny," continues Savary, "removes the difficulty past doubt. The three

flowed entirely along the sandy mountain on the side of Libya. But this prince, by constructing a bank at the distance of a hundred stadia from Memphis, towards the south, diverted the course of the Nile [177], and led it, by means of a new canal, through the centre of the mountains *.

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grand pyramids, seen by the watermen from all parts, stand on a barren and rocky hill, between Memphis and the Delta, one league from the Nile, two from Memphis, and near the village of Busiris."

Gibbon does not speak of the situation of ancient Memphis with his usual accuracy and decision.

"On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the east of the pyramids, at a small distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings."

D'Anville, the most accurate of all geographers, places it fifteen miles above the point of the Delta, which he says corresponds exactly with the measurement of three schæni. Whatever doubts may before have existed on this subject, they are now effectually removed by the luminous investigation of Major Rennell, in his excellent work on the Geography of Herodotus, p. 494, et seq.

[177] *Diverted the course of the Nile.*]—The course of this ancient bed is not unknown at present: it may be traced across the Desert, passing west of the lakes of Natroun, by petrified wood, masts, and lateen yards, the wrecks of vessels by which it was anciently navigated.—*Savary.*

The idea of petrified masts, &c. is now exploded. Both General Andreossi and Hornemann viewed the petrified wood at perfect and uninterrupted leisure. They found it to be parts of trees without any mark of a tool. See Mémoire sur l'Ægypte, and Hornemann, p. 8.—*T.*

* Rather, perhaps, midway between the two chains of hills, or in other words, through the middle of the valley. See Rennell, p. 494, et seq.—*T.*

Even at this present period, under the dominion of the Persians, this artificial channel is annually repaired and regularly preserved. If the river were here once to break its banks, the whole town of Memphis would be greatly endangered. It was the same Menes who, upon the solid ground thus rescued from the water, first built the town now known by the name of Memphis, which is situate in the narrowest part of Ægypt. To the north and the west of Memphis, he also sunk a lake, communicating with the river, which, from the situation of the Nile, it was not possible to effect towards the east. He moreover erected on the same spot a magnificent temple in honour of Vulcan.

C. The priests afterwards recited to me from a book, the names of three hundred and thirty sovereigns (successors of Menes); in this continued series eighteen were Æthiopians[178], and one a female native of the country, all the rest were men and Ægyptians. The female was called Nitocris, which was also the name of the Babylonian princess. They affirm that the Ægyptians having slain her brother, who was their sovereign, she was appointed his successor; and that afterwards, to avenge his death, she destroyed by artifice a great number of Ægyptians. By her orders

178 *Eighteen were Æthiopians.*]—These eighteen Æthiopian princes prove that the throne was not always hereditary in Ægypt.—*Larcher.*

a large subterraneous apartment was constructed professedly for festivals, but in reality for a different purpose. She invited to this place a great number of those Ægyptians whom she knew to be the principal instruments of her brother's death, and then by a private canal introduced the river amongst them. They added, that to avoid the indignation of the people, she suffocated herself in an apartment filled with ashes.

CI. None of these monarchs, as my informers related, were distinguished by any acts of magnificence or renown, except Mœris, who was the last of them. Of this prince, various monuments remain. He built the north entrance of the temple of Vulcan, and sunk a lake, the dimensions of which I shall hereafter describe. Near this he also erected pyramids*, whose magnitude, when I speak of the lake, I shall particularize. These

* It is very surprising that the pyramids, which from their first foundation must have been looked upon with wonder and attention, should not have preserved a more certain tradition of the time when they were founded, or of the names of the founders. Pliny reckons up a number of authors who have written of the pyramids, and all of them, he tells us, disagree concerning the persons who built them.—*Shaw.*

The same author adds:—Neither is there an universal consent for what use or intent they were designed. Pliny asserts that they were built for ostentation, and to keep an idle people in employment; others, which is the most received opinion, that they were to be the sepulchres of the Ægyptian

are lasting monuments of his fame: but as none of the preceding princes performed any thing memorable, I shall pass them by in silence.

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kings. But if Cheops, Suphis, or whoever else was the founder of the great pyramid, intended it only for his sepulchre, what occasion was there for such a narrow sloping entrance into it, or for the wall, as it is called, at the bottom of the gallery, or for the lower chamber, with a large niche or hole in the eastern wall of it, or for the long narrow cavities in the walls or sides of the large upper room, which likewise is incrustated all over with the finest granite marble, or for the two anti-chambers, and the lofty gallery, with benches on each side, that introduce us into it? As the whole of the Ægyptian theology was clothed in mysterious emblems and figures, it seems reasonable to suppose that all these turnings, apartments, and secrets in architecture, were intended for some nobler purpose; and that the deity, which was typified on the outward form of this pile, was to be worshipped within. No places could certainly have been more ingeniously contrived, for those secret chambers or adyta, which had so great a share in the Ægyptian mysteries and initiations.

The following beautiful passages from different authors, on the hidden sources of the Nile, should have been inserted at p. 245.

Lucan, B. 10.

Quæ tibi noscendi Nilum, Romane, cupido est,
Et Phariis, Persisque fuit, Macetumque Tyrannis:
Nullaque non ætas voluit conferre futuris
Notitiam: sed vincit adhuc natura latendi.
Summus Alexander regum quos Memphis adorat
Invidit Nilo, misitque per ultima terræ
Æthiopum, lectos: illos rubicunda perusti
Zona poli tenuit; Nilum vidêre calentem.

Venit

Venit ad occasum, mundique extrema Sesostris,
Et Pharios currus regum cervicibus egit:
Ante tamen vestros amnes Rhodanumque, Padumque
Quam Nilum de fonte bibit. vesanus in ortus
Cambyses longi populos pervenit ad ævi,
Defectusque epulis, et pastus cæde suorum,
Ignoto te, Nile, redit. non fabula mendax
Ausa loqui de fonte tuo est, ubicunque videris,
Quæreris: et nulli contingit gloria genti,
Ut Nilo sit læta suo.

See also Tibullus, L. 1. E. 7. before quoted. and Ovid. Metam. L. 2.

Ammianus Marcellinus, L. 22, affirms that their sources never will be known.

Origines fontium Nili ut mihi quidem videri solet, sicut adhuc factum est posteræ quoque ignorabunt ætates.

Claudian, Idyl. 4.

Qui rapido tractu mediis elatus ab austris,
Flammigenæ patiens zonæ cancrique calentis,
Fluctibus ignotis nostrum procurrit in orbem.
Secreto de fonte cadens, qui semper inani
Quærendus ratione latet: nec contigit ulli
Hoc vidisse caput. fertur sine teste creatus,
Flumina profundens alieni conscia cœli.

In this place also it may not be improper to add the various names by which the Nile was distinguished by ancient writers.

In Isaiah, xxiii. 3, the Nile is thus designated:

And by great waters the seed of Sihor, the harvest of the river is her revenue; and she is a mart of nations.

In Jeremiah, ii. 18.

What hast thou to do in the way of Ægypt to drink the waters of Sihor?

Joshua, xiii. 3.

From Sihor which is before Ægypt.—The Greeks called it μελας from its colour, and αειτος from its swiftness.

Oceanus was its very common appellation. It was also called Ægyptus, as frequently appears in Homer, Diodorus

Siculus, Plutarch, Strabo, Pliny, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

We find the name of Tuiton given it by Cœlius Rhodiginus.

Pliny, l. 5. c. 10. calls it Astabores and Astapus. Athenæus speaks of it by the term of Jupiter Ægyptius. It is alluded to by the name of Gihon, in Genesis, ii. 13.

And the name of the second river is Gihon, the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Æthiopia.

See also Jeremiah, ii. 18.

Pliny and Dionysius both give it the name of Sinis.

Theocritus uses the epithet of Chrysoroas, αργυριος Νειλος.

In Œgyptus it is named Noym.

I have seen it also somewhere termed Mehara.

P. Jovius calls it Abbahius; and Dionysius, in some other places, Syene.

Pierius Valerius gives it the appellation of Dynis; besides which, in different authors, I have seen it distinguished by the names of Tacus, Alaodecaton, Pisson, Bahar, &c.

The following account of the present state of the pyramids, from one of the last persons who was able to visit and examine them with leisure and security, may properly conclude this volume.

" To relieve the *ennui* which the present indolent state of the army produced, and particularly as no permission was given to enter into Cairo, the pyramids, distant only about four miles, had become the constant subject of occupation; and the very soldiers in going there seemed to find a recompence for many of their toils, to exult more in their triumphs, and feel the enjoyment which travellers must experience on attaining the ultimate object of their research; their minds aggrandized with honest pride and honourable reflections.

" The pyramids, which are consecrated from the most remote antiquity, as forming one of the seven wonders of the world, at a distance impose neither awe nor any idea of stupendous magnificence: they are situated on the immediate borders of the Desert, which elevates itself like a cliff above the cultivated country; their form, if one of the objects of

their construction was to excite surprise at their grandeur and altitude, was the worst which could be conceived; but when arrived at the very base of the great pyramid, then its wonders require positive vision to credit. The mind is lost in the calculation, and the eye, unaccustomed to such masses, cannot imagine to itself such dimensions. The vastness of the granite blocks, the quantity of labour which must have been employed, the lever which must have been necessary to raise such stupendous masses of rock, its original beauty from the various coloured marbles, porphyry and granite, with which the sides have been cased, impress with unequalled sentiments of admiration and astonishment. When, however, reflection directs the thought to the surprising works of genius and learning of those ages in which these were constructed, and contrasts the present abject race of their posterity, the mind cannot but lament the degradation of such a portion of human nature, and consider the pyramids as a monument of melancholy instruction.

" The height of the large pyramid is at last definitively ascertained by the French to be six hundred feet; the length of its base seven hundred feet. The quantity of cubic feet of solid stone is by them estimated to contain a sufficiency for the building of a wall of four hundred and fifty miles in extent, three feet in height, and five inches in thickness. Near the top, part of the case still remains, on which are supposed to be hieroglyphics; its pinnacle is about thirty yards square, on which the French Savants once dined, and which was now constantly crowded with English. The names of Bruce*, of Algernon Sydney, Volney, and several others, were carved on the stones; and it does them no small credit to have ventured as solitary travellers to the top of this gloomy pile. The view from hence is frightfully barren; an immeasurable waste of desert is only interrupted by the

* For the honour of Bruce it should be told that every circumstance tends to corroborate his veracity. The French made many inquiries, and unite in testifying to his reputation; and many of the Abyssinians who came with the caravans remembered him in the country.

narrow flat of cultivated land which separates the Deserts of Libya and Arabia; nor can that arid soil, and the wretched villages in the valley, afford any scene picturesque or gratifying. The eye can only rest with any pleasure on the waters of the Nile, the island of Rhoda, and some fine orange-trees in the neighbourhood of Giza. These only can refresh the aching sight; and yet this view has so fascinated, as to make Savary believe that the poets from hence must have formed their ideas of Elysium *, and so enraptured him as to excite his regrets that he could not remain during life in this garden of bliss. But Savary has proved himself a bad judge of the beautiful in country and women; his paradise, placed in Europe, would be deserted like a wilderness, and his houris become antiquated virgins.

"The ascent to the top is very difficult, and requires resolution and strength; each stone is at least four feet high, and the only steps are made by each superior one receding to form the pyramid about three feet. The descent is more unpleasant, yet the soldiers went up and down, without any accident, perpetually. At the base of the North front is a door, over which are many hieroglyphics. This, Strabo assures us, was originally half way up the pyramid, and that the drifting sand has covered the base so high. This story would be absurd to credit, if only subject to the observation that such a quantity of drifting sand must necessarily encroach on the cultivated country also, which it has not done evidently; but now the French, by digging at the four corners, have ascertained the base, and found that no such alteration has taken place, since it is erected on solid rock, and, from the excavations around, there is evident proof that the bodies of the pyramids are constructed of this rock; the hugh masses of porphyry and granite used to case them,

* Several great canals, which separated Memphis from the pyramids of Sacarah, did furnish the Greeks with the idea of their infernal rivers, Acheron, Cocytus, and Lethe; but it required Savary's imagination to place the Elysian Fields here on account of the beauty of the scenery.

were brought from the neighbourhood of Cossira, on the Red Sea. By the door at the North front is the entrance into the interior of the pyramid, into the sanctum of the wonder of the world. The passage at first is very narrow and low, then afterwards enlarges. At the extremity of one branch is a well, the depth of which was never ascertained. Another passage communicates to several chambers, in the largest of which is a stone coffin, the lid is taken away, and several attempts have been made to break the sarcophagus; fortunately the hardness of the stone resisted the Gothic violence. The Arabs pretend, that the corpse of a man, with his sword and some golden ornaments, were found at the first opening of the coffin; but these traditions are too vague to collect any positive information from. The only certain fact seems to be, that therein reposed the corpse of that prince, for whose memory this stupendous structure was erected.

"There are two other very large pyramids, one of which Morad Bey attempted to open; many stones were dug out; when the labour was found so hydra-headed, that avarice was obliged to abandon the design, and thus this uncompleted work of destruction remains as a monument for the preservation of the rest. There are the ruins of about thirteen smaller ones, numerous catacombs in the rocks, in many of which the colours of the bas-relief on the walls are preserved perfectly fresh. From these circumstances, the corresponding pyramids of Sacarah, and the Plain of Mummies, no doubt can remain of these gigantic piles having been intended to inclose the bodies and perpetuate the fame of princes, who hoped in such mighty characters to have their renown recorded for ever, but whose ashes are dispersed like those of their meaner subjects, and of whose name history retains no trace. Ambition may hence receive instruction, and mortified pride consolation."—*Sir Robert Wilson*, p. 137.

END OF VOL. I.

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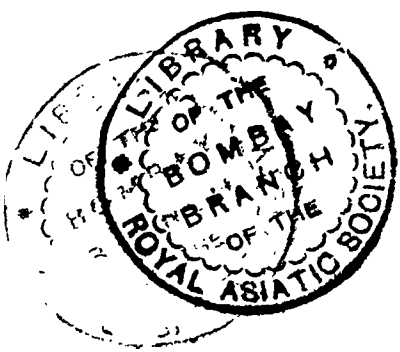
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